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The Last Macdonalds of Isla.

CHARLES FRASER MACKINTOSH
F.S.A. Scot.

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THE LAST MACDONALDS OF ISLA.

THE
LAST MACDONALDS OF ISLA:

CHIEFLY SELECTED FROM
ORIGINAL BONDS AND DOCUMENTS,

SOMETIME BELONGING TO
SIR JAMES MACDONALD,

THE LAST OF HIS RACE, NOW IN THE POSSESSION OF
CHARLES FRASER-MACKINTOSH,
F.S.A., SCOT.

GLASGOW: "CELTIC MONTHLY" OFFICE,
9 BLYTHSWOOD DRIVE.

1895.

13. 10. 11;

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G. F. Parkman Jr. L

P R E F A C E.

THESE papers have gradually extended. At first it was only intended to illustrate certain original MS. documents which have come into my possession. The favour with which they were received, and the support in document and illustration by the Earl of Antrim, as also the valuable illustrations from other friends, have swelled the reprint.

As copies of the Gaelic Charter of 1408 can now be procured only with difficulty, the opportunity has been taken to insert it in the form of an appendix with the preface by the late Mr. Cosmo Innes, which originally appeared among the National Manuscripts of Scotland, 1867-72.

It only remains for me, in adding to the cairn of numerous works on the great Clan of Macdonald, to express my obligations to my young, talented and energetic friend, Mr. John Mackay, Editor of the *Celtic Monthly*, and my appreciation of the handsome manner in which this reprint appears, in paper, type and illustration.

C. F. M.

I N D E X.

Adamson, Cuthbert, Commissary of Argyle,	...	...	...	...	43
Argyle, Colin, 3rd Earl of,	...	...	...	...	16
Argyle, Archibald, 4th Earl of,	...	...	...	...	16, 17, 24
Argyle, Archibald, 5th Earl of,	...	...	...	...	32
Argyle, Archibald, Master of,	...	...	...	...	18
Argyle, Duncan an Aigh, of,	...	...	...	...	41
Caithness, Allan, Earl of, 1431,	...	...	...	...	7
Caithness, Earl of, 1615,	...	...	...	...	62
Cameron, Clan,	...	...	...	...	8
Campbell, Sir John, of Calder,	...	...	...	...	14, 37
Campbell, Lady Agnes, Wife of 7th Isla,	...	...	...	...	16
Campbell, Archibald, of Clachane,	...	...	...	...	20
Campbell, Archibald, Captain of Dunoon,	...	...	...	...	32, 34
Campbell, Sir Colin, of Buquhane,	...	...	...	...	22
Campbell, Colin, of Kilberrie,	...	...	...	...	43
Campbell, Donald, of Barbreck,	...	...	...	...	69, 70, 71
Campbell, Donald, of Auchynmollen,	...	...	...	...	32, 34
Campbell, Dugald, of Auchinbreck,	...	...	...	...	22, 29, 40, 41
Campbell, James, of Ardkinglass,	...	...	...	...	29
Campbell, Rev. Neil, Rector of Kilmartin,	...	...	...	...	18, 20
Carsewell, John, Bishop of the Isles,	...	...	...	...	20, 29
Crawford, Earl of,	...	...	...	...	64
Graham, John, of Boquhople,	...	...	...	...	20
Graham, Thomas, of Boquhople,	...	...	...	...	20
Hamilton, James, Duke of Chatelherault,	...	...	...	...	35
Hamilton, John, Lord,	...	...	...	...	35

Isles, Bishop of the, ...	62
Kintyre, Lady, Countess of Tyrone, ...	27, 29
Lamont, Duncan, of Inveryne, ...	32
Lamont, James, of Inveryne, ...	31, 32
Lamont, John, of Askok, ...	32
Lamont, Robert, of Inveryne, ...	32
Lamont, Robert, Prior of Oronsay, ...	65
Lennox, Duke of, ...	60
Makallister, Sir Alexander, Rector of Kilmore, ...	18
Makallister, Ferquhar, of Skirrieheugh, ...	24
Makallister, Archibald, of Crossage, ...	64
Macdougall, Alexander, Parson of Kildalton, ...	43, 60
Makduphe, Archibald, in Ballijonen, ...	56
Makduphe, Donald, in Killiecolman, ...	56
Makduphe, Archibald, of Skerolsay, ...	56
Makduphie, Gillespie, in Isla, ...	59
Makduphie, Donald, Prior of Oronsay, ...	65
MacGhey, John, Vicar of Kildalton, ...	40
MacGavin, Donald, of Esknis, ...	56
MacEachen, John Gromach, in Colonsay, ...	59
Mackay, Neil, Officer of the Rhinns, ...	54
Mackay, Neil, Younger thereof, ...	56
Mackay, John, Servitor to Sir James Macdonald, ...	60
Mackay, Hew, of Killikerran, ...	56
Makirini, Lachlan, in Grinizort, ...	56
Macnaughton, Alexander, of Duninbarie, ...	29
Mackintosh, Lachlan, of Mackintosh, ...	31
Mackintosh, Sir Lachlan, of Mackintosh, ...	62, 67
Mackintosh, William, of Mackintosh, ...	71
MacLaine, John, of Lochbuie, ...	9
Maclean, Lachlan, of Duart, ...	9

INDEX.

ix.

Maclean, Hector, of Duart, ...	20
Maclean, Lachlan, Master of Duart, ...	9
Maclean, John Lachlan, of Coll, ...	9
Maclean, Sir Lachlan, of Duart, ... 7, 8, 9, 46, 50, 52	
Maclean, Fynvola, of Duart, ...	54
Macleod, William, of Glenelg, ...	9
Macleod, Roderick, of Lewis, ...	9
Macleod, Mary, of Dunvegan, ...	24
Macneill, Sir Neil, of Kilchousland, ...	37
Macneill, Clan, ...	57
Macneill, Hector, of Carskey, ...	59
Macneill, Neil, of Thynis, ...	43
Macneill, Malcolm, Brother to Thynis, ...	43
Macneill, Hector, Fiar of Thynis, ...	43
Macpherson, Malcolm, in Mullendrie, ...	56
Macphetera, Neil, of Kepposiche, ...	56
Mactavish, Donald, of Ardacheriche, ...	56
Macdonalds of Isla, ... 1 to 69	
Macdonalds of Ardnamurchan, ... 69 to 74	
Macdonalds of Antrim, ... 79 to 88	
Macdonalds of Coll Keitach, ... 74 to 79	
Macdonald, Somerled, King of the Isles, ... 2	
Macdonald, Angus Mor, Lord of the Isles, ... 2, 21	
Macdonald, John, Lord of the Isles, ... 2, 3	
Macdonald, Donald, Lord of the Isles, and Earl of Ross, ... 3, 4	
Macdonald, Lady Margaret, his wife, Countess of Ross, ... 3	
Macdonald, Alexander, Lord of the Isles, 2nd Earl of Ross, ... 35	
Macdonald, John, Lord of the Isles, 3rd Earl of Ross, ... 9	
Macdonald, John 1st of Isla, ... 4	
Macdonald, Marjory Byset, or, his wife, ... 4	
Macdonald, Donald Balloch, 2nd of Isla, ... 6, 9, 10	
Macdonald, Margaret, daughter of Donald Balloch, ... 10	
Macdonald, John, 3rd of Isla, ... 10	
Macdonald, Sir John Cathanach, 4th of Isla, ... 10, 11	

X.

INDEX.

Macdonald, Alexander, 5th of Isla, ...	12, 15
Macdonald, James, 6th of Isla, ...	16, 22
Macdonald, Archibald, 7th of Isla, ...	28
Macdonald, Angus, 8th of Isla, ...	29, 32, 54
Macdonald, Sir James, 9th of Isla, ...	48, 49, 50, 52, 54
Macdonald, Margaret, his daughter, ...	60
Macdonald, Angus Oig, son of 8th Isla, ...	54
Macdonald, Coll and Ranald, brothers of 8th Isla, ...	48
Macdonald, John Sprangaich, 6th of Ardnamurchan, ...	21
Macdonald, Fynvola, of Ardnamurchan, ...	9
Macdonald, Alexander MacIain, of Ardnamurchan, ...	9
Macdonald, John, of Ardnamurchan, ...	11, 12
Macdonald, John MacIain, of Ardnamurchan, ...	50
Macdonald, Mariot, of Ardnamurchan, ...	16, 26, 27
Macdonald, Coll Keitach, ...	15, 67, 98
Macdonald, Sir Alexander, his son, ...	71
Macdonald, Sorley Buie, 1st of Antrim, ...	15, 26, 27
Macdonald, Celestine, of Lochalsh, ...	9
Macdonald, Sir Donald, of Lochalsh, ...	21
Macdonald, Sir Alexander, of Lochalsh, ...	21
Macdonald, Reginald, of Clanranald, ...	2, 4
Macdonald, Amie nin Ruarie, of Clanranald, ...	2
Macdonald, Roderick, of Clanranald, ...	10
Macdonald, Allan MacRuarie, of Clanranald, ...	10
Macdonald, Hugh, 1st of Slate, ...	9
Macdonald, Donald Gorme, of Slate, ...	46
Macdonald, Alexander, 1st of Keppoch, ...	2
Macdonald, Alexander, of Largie, ...	32
Macdonald, Archibald, of Largie, ...	39, 64, 65
Macdonald, Clan Allister, of Loupe, ...	35
Macdonald, Gorrie MacAllister, of Loupe, ...	64
Macdonald, Tutor of Loupe, ...	54
Macdonald, Clan Allister Beg, in Arran, ...	34, 35
Macdonalds, of Sanda, ...	36, 37

INDEX.

xi.

Macdonald, Angus, 1st of Sanda, ...	12
Macdonald, Archibald, of Machriereoche	39
Macdonald, Rev. Donald, of Eilean Finan, ...	39
Mar, Alexander, Earl of, ...	7, 8
Melville, Sir James, ...	25
Monro, Rev. Thomas, Rector of Kilmonivaig, ...	9
O'Donnell, Ineen Dubh, Lady, ...	27
O'Donnell, Sir Hugh, of Donegal, ...	27
Omeyght, Mr. Cornelius, Dean of Kintyre, ...	18, 19
O'Neill, Shane, ...	26
O'Neill, Torlogh, Earl of Tyrone, ...	27
Savage, Sheela, wife of Sir John of Isla, ...	12
Stuart, Robert II., King of Scotland, ...	3
Stuart, Robert, of Auchynske, ...	32
Stuart, John, Sheriff of Bute, ...	38
Stuart, John, of Askog, ...	38
Stuart, Ninian, of Kilchattan, ...	22

APPENDIX.

The Gaelic Charter of 1408, <i>fac-simile</i> and translation, &c., ...	89, 96
Bond of the Men of Isla (<i>fac-simile</i>), ...	97
Coll Keitach, ...	98

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CERTAIN interesting documents, once the property of Sir James Macdonald, last of Isla, hitherto unpublished, having come into my hands, they are now, by request, reprinted from the pages of the *Celtic Monthly*—some of them *in extenso*, with abstracts of others. To make my story complete and intelligible it is proper to give an account of the family, but only in the briefest form, so many well-known histories, accurate and inaccurate, having been written on the subject.

Six generations from the time of Somerled, King of the Isles and Lord of Argyle and Kintyre, undoubted *stirps* of the great house and clan of Macdonald, bring us to Angus Mor, father of John, for some time last independent Lord of the Isles.



TOMB OF ANGUS MACDONALD, LORD OF THE ISLES, IN IONA.

John, who succeeded about 1330, was first of his race to acknowledge the King of Scotland as over-lord and superior. Attempts had often been made by the Scottish kings to curb the power of the Macdonalds, but hitherto without permanent success. John married his cousin, Amie nin Ruarie, a pious, excellent woman—whose memory is still held in sweet reverence on the west mainland and islands of Inverness-shire—dowered with great possessions. Of this marriage the eldest son was Reginald, of whom Clanranald and others, with other children. His second and third sons, John and Alexander, are generally counted as of the second marriage, although the Clanranald and the Sanda Historians, and others, claim as of the first marriage, that the second son was Iain Mor, of whom the Macdonalds of Isla; and third Alexander, of whom the Macdonells of Keppoch. John may

be said to have been the greatest man in Scotland, making treaties with foreign powers and fighting as an independent ally with the French at Poitiers, where he was wounded and taken prisoner by the Black Prince. Tempted by the high alliance into a second marriage with the daughter of Robert, Steward of Scotland, afterwards Robert II., John weakly submitted to the offspring of the second marriage having priority. He had to satisfy the natural claims of his elder sons, legitimate and illegitimate, by large grants of property, having the effect, as intended by the wily promoters of the marriage, of greatly weakening, reducing, and finally destroying the predominant position of the ancient independent Lords of the Isles.

By the second marriage John had a son Donald, who succeeded as Lord of the Isles, and by marrying Margaret, daughter of the Countess of Ross, ultimately, in his wife's right, on failure of heirs male, and other heirs, and after fighting the battle of Harlaw in 1411, was generally recognised as Earl of Ross. Donald, therefore, from his vast acquisition of estate, had become as serious a danger to the Crown as his predecessors, the independent Lords of the Isles, and every opportunity was seized upon—and many actually created—within the next seventy years to embroil him and his successors with the Crown and powerful neighbours. This, added to the haughty spirit of Donald, of his son Alexander, and his grandson John, finally brought about the destruction of the second dynasty of the Lords of the Isles, also Earls of Ross, which only ran through three generations. So anxious were King and Parliament to stamp out the title of Earl of Ross, synonymous to them with dangerous and turbulent power, that at the final forfeiture of John, last Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles,

this title was declared to be inalienably held by the Crown. A Duke of Ross was afterwards created, as if to emphasise the inalienation, which title soon fell; and when, as is sometimes noticed, so-and-so means to apply to make good his claim to the dignity of Earl of Ross, any such attempts are futile. Upon the downfall of the Macdonalds in the north and west, the Mackenzies and Campbells arose, in no very creditable manner; and of them all that need be said (in this connection alone let it be kept in remembrance) is, that the Campbells are not now what they once were, particularly in Isla.

We now turn to the family with which these papers more particularly deal, viz., the Isla branch of the Macdonalds, styled after John, second son of John, Lord of the Isles, "Clann Iain Mhoir."

I.—This John married, about 1400, Marjory Byset, heiress of the Seven Lordships of the Glens, in Antrim, a lady of the good blood of the Bysets and O'Neills. After the marriage John is found styled Lord of Dunyvaig and the Glens, also Lord of Isla and Kintyre. The title of Dunyvaig and the Glens became the leading title of John's descendants. Dunyvaig castle, for centuries a ruin, stands on the estate of Kildalton, in Isla. Great as the estate given to Iain Mor by his father was, it does not appear to have satisfied him. Instigated by evil advice, John rose against his brother, Donald of the Isles and of Harlaw, but was defeated and fled to Ireland. Peace was made up betwixt the brothers, and heartily recognising the seniority conferred upon their brother, both Reginald, first of Clauranald, and Iain Mor, first of Isla, gave hearty support to Donald, Lord of the Isles, at the battle of Harlaw. It was this

Clanranald's bard who composed that magnificent martial address which, above all others, exhibits the depth and comprehensiveness of the Gaelic language. As there are very few Charters extant granted by Donald of Harlaw, we give in the appendix a *fac-simile* of the famous Gaelic Charter of 1408, with the late Mr. Cosmo Innes' illustrative remarks, in connection with its production in the National M.SS. of Scotland. Iain Mor's fidelity to his nephew Alexander, son of Donald, cost him his life. The manner of Iain Mor's death has left a deep stain on the memory of James I. and his advisers.

According to the Clanranald history, privately printed at Edinburgh in 1819, Donald of Harlaw died in France in the year 1427, but according to others, including the late Mr. Hector Maclean, of Isla, a very competent writer, Donald died in 1425, at his own Castle of Ardtornish, in the forty-fifth year of his age, leaving his son Alexander, Lord of the Isles and Earl of Ross, in minority. The death of Donald seemed to the King and his advisers a good opportunity for seizing the person and lands of the minor.* He was accordingly entrapped into an interview, detained in prison for a considerable period, and meantime the authorities had the baseness to endeavour to enlist Iain Mor on their side with the bribe of a large portion of his nephew's estates. Their emissary, named Campbell, sought an interview, with a large retinue, and upon Iain Mor indignantly declining the offer, was declared King's

* "At the Isle of St. Finlagan, in Ile, Alexander of Yle, Lord of the Isles, Master of the Earldom of Ross, gave charter to Gilleonan mac Roderic vic Murchard Makneill, of the Islands of Barra and others. Dated in the 'Vigils of St. John the Baptist,' 1427." This shows that Donald of Harlaw was dead, whilst his wife Margaret was living.

prisoner, and after making all the resistance his small retinue could command, was overpowered and slain. Campbell was made a scapegoat, tried and executed at Inverness for the murder of Iain Mor, his defence being a strong and earnest statement that what he did was by the King's orders, though unable to furnish written evidence of his assertion. Campbell



FINLAGAN CASTLE AND LOCH, ISLAY.

doubtless knew too much for those in power, to warrant their allowing him his life.

II.—Donald (styled Donald Balloch), son of Iain Mor, succeeded and worthily maintained the reputation of his house in deeds of arms and valour. He was only twenty years of age at his father's death, but lost no time in revenging the foul

deed, and making himself obnoxious to the ruling powers. Great part of his cousin Alexander's property had been given to Alexander, Earl of Mar, who endeavoured to establish himself in Lochaber and other parts. Donald Balloch gathered a considerable force, partly through his own influence, and partly through an urgent message from Alexander, again in prison, to



INVERLOCHY CASTLE.

his followers to rally round Donald. The Earl of Mar took means to detach a considerable portion of the proper following of Alexander, including the Camerons, and some say the Keppochs, an insult which afterwards cost these families dear at the hands of Alexander and his son John. Lord Mar had the support of his brother Allan (Lord Caithness), and many

eastern and lowland gentlemen, together with that of certain Macdonalds and Camerons just mentioned, and both parties met at Inverlochy. Donald Balloch gained a complete victory, with the loss of fifty men against a thousand of the enemy. Lord Mar's pitiful state after his escape from the field of battle is still talked of in the Brae of Lochaber. He arrived late the night of the battle at Rynach, in the head of Glenroy, and asked for some refreshment. The people were so poor, or had lately been harried, that they had no dish, and the Earl, whose name and station were unknown, had to drink some milk, drawn from a goat, out of his shoe. Upon leaving he told the host, one O'Brien or O'Byrne, if he ever were in Aberdeenshire, to knock at the gate of Kildrummie Castle and ask for Alexander Stuart. He did so some time afterwards, and the Earl was told by his servants that a stranger had knocked, asking for one Alexander Stuart. The Earl instantly ordered his admission, treated him well, told him who he was, and sent him homewards rejoicing, the happy possessor of twelve cows. Considering that the Camerons, with others, suffered a complete defeat, it seems not a little singular that their famous and somewhat defiant pibroch is commonly attributed to the first battle of Inverlochy. As it could hardly be composed after, or in commemoration of, the battle, it must have been composed, if then composed, on the march to Inverlochy. Like many other old Gaelic airs, modern words and corruptions have crept in here. All older versions point to "Plobaireachd Dhònuill Duibh," as a Macdonald air.

*"Chaidh an diugh, 's chaidh an dè
Le Clann Dònuill."*

The highest credit is due to the Camerons for their valour at the second battle of Inverlochy, under Montrose. Donald Balloch, after the battle, which took place in 1431, sailed to Ireland. The king desired his head to be sent to him, and a head was accordingly sent in due time, but not that of Donald, who ingratiated himself with his powerful neighbours, the O'Neills, marrying O'Neill's daughter. By their intercession Donald's peace was made up with the King.

A Charter by John de Yle, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, to his brother Hugh (son of Alexander), of the Isles, Lord of Slete, and Fynvola nin Allister vic Iain of Ardnamurchan, spouse, of the 30 merk of Skirrieheugh, in Uist, in which Donald Balloch is referred to, is not only curious in itself, but on account of a singular error in its own date, or in the King's confirmation which followed, or in the Register of the Great Seal, the date given being 28th June, 1409. There was only one John who was both Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, viz., the last, whose father Alexander died in 1448, or early in 1449. The correct date of the charter, therefore, in all probability is 1449, for not only the parties to it but the witnesses' names establish that 1409 must be erroneous. It bears to be signed at "our castle of Aros," and to be granted "with advice of our council." The Earl's kinsmen are declared to be Donald de Insulis, Lord of Dunyvaig and the Glens; Celestine de Insulis of Lochalshe; Lachlan Maclean of Duart, and Alexander Mac Iain of Ardnamurchan. The witnesses, in addition to the above four kinsmen, are John Maclean of Lochbuie, Lachlan Maclean, Master of Duart, William Macleod of Glenelg, Roderick Macleod of Lewis, John Lachlan Maclean of Coll, and Mr. Thomas Monro, Secretary to the Earl,

and rector of Kilmonivaig. I find Donald Balloch at Inverness in 1466, and despite his early stormy career he died peacefully in Isla, at an advanced age. His daughter Margaret married Roderick Macdonald of Clanranald, and had with other children, the famous Allan Mac Ruari of Clanranald. Donald's eldest son

III.—John married Sabina O'Neill, and he is placed as successor, though I think he died before his father. In the year



DUNAVERTY CASTLE, KINTYRE.

1461-2, during the negotiations of the Earl of Ross with the English King, Donald Balloch and his son John agreed to serve the King, they to receive respectively annually £40 and £20 sterling in time of war, and half these pensions in time of peace. The next chief was

IV.—John, and grandson of Donald, styled "Iain Cathanach," a distinguished warrior, incidents in whose chequered life formed

the staple of many a story and song. Edward IV. sends him an embassy in 1481, wherein he is styled John of Isla, Lord of the Glens and Dunyvaig. He received the honour of knighthood from James IV., who granted him charters of all his Scottish estates. There was reserved, however, to the Crown, and strongly fortified, the Castle of Dunaverty, in South Kintyre, adjacent to Sir John's possessions. Sir John Cathanach at the earliest opportunity attacked, took, and destroyed under very aggravating circumstances the castle, with its garrison, a great humiliation to the proud-spirited King James, unable at the time to retaliate.* At whatsoever time King or Council wished to attack a Macdonald or a Maclean, they always had an Argyle ready to hand. The Argyle open and fair-field attacks were few in number, and seldom successful, hence they employed others to do the hard and underhand work. In this case of Sir John's, John Macdonald of Ardnamurchan, who had a dispute with him regarding Sunart, was the instrument employed, a man of great ambition, who, as head of the powerful sept styled Mac Iain, had a strong following. Sir John Cathanach, with two of his sons, in a perfidious way, were taken prisoners and executed at Edinburgh, their bodies being buried within the Chapel of Saint Anthony. John Mac Iain received from the King, on 24th November, 1505, a ratification, for good services, of all charters formerly made in

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* The castle was repeatedly taken and destroyed. Mrs. Margaret Fleming, afterwards Mackay, mother of the talented and energetic editor of the *Celtic Monthly*, lived for some time in the neighbourhood, and has often in her youth picked up bones of the slain in the adjoining sands. The configuration of large holes or pits dug at different times for wholesale interment was quite distinct—there existing a feeling against the surface being broken up or interfered with. The sketch is by Miss Macdonell of Keppoch.—C. F. M.

his favour of whatsoever lands in the islands of Yle and Jura, and the low land (*bassa terra*) of Ardnamurchan and Suynart, with the Castle of Mingarry, in Ardnamurchan, and Donavagan, in Yle, &c. The King, at Edinburgh, 19th November, 1506, confirmed to John Mac Iain, as heir of his grandfather, John vic Allister vic Iain, *inter alia*, two merks and 6s. 8d. worth of lands in Jura, viz., a large eighth part of Aridscarnula, and eighth part of Knock-na-seoloman, which held of the late Donald de Insulis, Lord of Dunyvaig and Glens, but now in the hands of the Crown through the forfeiture of the late John de Insulis of Dunyvaig, Knight, heir of the said Donald de Insulis, on account of Sir John's treason.

Sir John Cathanach, who married Sheela Savage, daughter of the then chieftain of that great family, settled at Portaferry, County Down, left two surviving sons, Alexander, and Angus, predecessor of the Macdonalds of Sanda. Sir John was succeeded by

V.—Alexander, who with his brother fled to Ireland, pursued by the implacable vengeance of the King, who caused an order to be passed that Alexander and his descendants be prohibited from ever setting foot in Scotland, or owning a foot of Scottish soil; and this decree stood in force until James IV.'s death at Flodden. Mac Iain was also sent to Ireland to capture or slay Alexander, but failed, after long search, as he reported to the King. In reality, Mac Iain seems to have relented, became reconciled to Alexander, and gave him his daughter Catherine in marriage, all unknown to the King. Alexander, after the accession of James V. of Scotland, was received by him into favour, and settled peacefully in Scotland. James V. entirely altered the course

PLACES OF INTEREST IN ISLAY.



PONT - ASHAIG



LIGHT HOUSE - FORTINAVAS



BRIDGEND.



LOCH GRUINARD.



PORT-CHARLOTTE.

pursued by his immediate predecessors towards the Highland and Island chiefs, by giving them justice when in the right.

I have called the Isla family Macdonalds rather than Macdonells, although the Irish family of Antrim so called themselves at an early period. In reality the latter Islas sign

SANCTUARY CROSSES OF ISLAY.



KILCHOMAN.

ARDNAVE.

KILCHOMAN.

"Konnel," "M'Conil," and "M'Connal." This Alexander, the last head of the family, who could not write, signs thus, "Alexander Konnel de Dunoweg, with my hand on the pen," entered into a bond of gossipry with Sir John Campbell, first of the house of Calder named Campbell, wherein he is styled "Alex.

the Illis, son of John Cathanach." The bond is dated at Glennay, in the Taraf, 7th May, 1522, and to endure for five years. Alexander is to serve Sir John by himself and all the branch of the Clan Donald that he is descended from, and he is bound not to harm such of the Mac Iains as hold of Sir John. On the other hand, Sir John gives Alexander 45 merks land in Isla, and the lands of Colonsay, free of mail, as also Jura, under certain conditions, during the foresaid space of five years. The reference to gossipry is curious: "Also for the final concord between the said Sir John and the said Alexander, either of other, faithfully promise that what time or hour God sends them any bairns, that they shall baptize the bairn and be gossips, and aye until the said gossipry be completed, the said Sir John and Alexander shall keep leal, true, and a full part to other, as if it were completed."

Prior to his settling in Scotland, Alexander had made a great figure in Ireland, many of the flower of the Macdonalds resorting to his standard after the final forfeiture of John, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles. He thus not only maintained himself in his hereditary estate, but powerfully aided his native Irish allies against English oppression in Ulster. Alexander had by his wife six sons—James, Angus, Coll, Alexander, Donald Gorm, and Sorley—and three daughters, who all married well. Angus, Alexander, and Donald Gorm fell in battle in Ireland. James, the eldest son, succeeded; Coll, known as "Coll na-g-Capul," will be afterwards referred to; and Sorley, styled Sorley Buie, or "Somerled," otherwise "Samuel the Golden-haired," settled in Ireland, and was the first of the great Irish house of the Macdonells of Antrim.

Upon the death of Alexander, who had successfully upheld the fortunes of the family, he was succeeded by his eldest son,

VI.—James Macdonald, who married Lady Agnes Campbell, daughter of Colin, third Earl of Argyle, and some say had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him. The papers in my possession do not bear out this view. As regards his interests in Scotland, James Macdonald not only maintained, but increased his influence. In 1545 he received grants of lands from Queen Mary, which were renewed in 1558. In the insurrections of the Islanders under Donald Dubh, James was the only island chief who opposed. Yet having on Donald's death been elected Lord of the Isles, James accepted the position, and addressed a letter, dated Ardnamurchan, 24th January, 1546, to the Irish Privy Council, designing himself "James M'Conaill of Dunnewack and ye Glennis, and apparent aeyr of ye illis." It has been well said by an Irish historian that James "must have been very popular with both the contending parties in Scotland, having been first elected Lord of the Isles by the persons whom he had previously opposed, and afterwards welcomed again by the Regent, even though he had assumed the obnoxious and then treasonable title of Lord of the Isles." Through the Argyle connection James received from his brother-in-law, Archibald, 4th Earl of Argyle, the 80 merks land of old extent of Ardnamurchan, which had come to the Earl through the resignation of Mariot Mac Iain. Notwithstanding the recent family connection, the acquisition of these lands must have been very welcome to Isla, but, whether well-intentioned or ill-intentioned, the grant ultimately helped the downfall of the Macdonalds, proving as fatal to Isla as the lands given for Sir

John Cathanach's betrayal proved to the Mac Iains. We now arrive at the date—12th October, 1550—of the oldest documents in my possession, viz:—Charter of Alienation, endorsed in an



CHARTER GRANTED BY ARCHIBALD, 4TH EARL OF ARGYLE—1550.

old hand "Letter of Warrandice;" Precept of Sasine; and Charter, all granted by Archibald, 4th Earl of Argyle, Lord Campbell and Lorne, in favour of James Maconell of Duny-

vaught. A *fac-simile* of the first-named charter, with the signature, "A Erl of Argyle," having greater part of the seal entire, is here given, having been done to my entire satisfaction expressly for these papers.

The three documents are of the same tenour, being charter and relative writs by the Earl of Argyle to James Macdonald of the 80 merks land of the old extent of Ardnamurchan, with the castle and fortalice of Mingarry, tenants, tenancies, and service of free tenants, etc., etc., lying within the Sheriffdom of Inverness. The consideration is for good and thankful service done by James in time past, and to be done in time coming, and also for certain sums of money paid, the destination being to James and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, whom failing, to revert to the Earl; and the holding, ward and relief; signed at Edinburgh, the 12th day of October, 1550, in presence of Archibald, Master of Argyle; Sir John Lamont of Inverryne; Mr. Neil Campbell, rector of Kilmartin; Archibald Stewart, John Gromag Mackay, and Mr. Cornelius Omeight, the rector of Kilberhie.

James Macdonald took sasine at the Castle of Mingarry of the lands of Ardnamurchan on 7th January, 1550-51, the witnesses being Angus Mak Connail, John vic Aonas Ilacht, Archibald Stewart, Sir Alexander Mak Alister, rector of Kilmore, Farchard Makkay, Duncan-vic-Yvar-dubh, Lachlan Ban, Finlay-maol-vic-Kobair, and Mr. Cornelius Omeight, dean of Kintyre—a goodly list of Highland names and patronymics. The Dean of Kintyre wrote and was witness to many of the writs connected with the Argyles and the Macdonalds, and I observe in the *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, he is sometimes called Omay,

sometimes Omev. In the sasine, which is written by him and also signed, he describes himself as "Master of Arts, and Clerk of Lismore."

In 1548, Master Cornelius Omev was presented by Queen Mary as rector of Kildalton. In 1550 he is rector of Kilberry, and at a later period parson of Kilblane, dying prior to 1580, for in that year Donald Campbell is presented to the parsonage, vacant by the death of Master Cornelus Omay.

I do not find in the Kilmore lists the name of the before-mentioned rector, who was probably son or grandson of that Charles Mak Alexander who, in 1481, received the appointment of steward of Kintyre.

It will be observed that one of the witnesses is called John, son of Angus, the Isla man. The name of Isla has ever had a strong hold on its inhabitants, and the feeling is cherished at this day perhaps more warmly than ever. The very word, uttered in a strange land in Gaelic, with that soft plaintive accent peculiar to Islanders of the West, goes straight to the heart. When the old Lords of the Isles were independent, Isla in its Gaelic form was their favourite title, and down to their extinction in the person of John, last Lord of the Isles and Earl of Ross, their primary title was "de Ile," or "Yle." That it was in the Gaelic form, rather than in English or Latin, is worth noticing, and gratifying to Highlanders and Islanders. Younger sons were styled "de Insulis," and "Illis."

The next document which I have, is the discharge for the price of Ardnamurchan, which, in 1723, was divided into thirty-one townships, of the aggregate value of 152 pennies, whereof

Mingarry was valued at six pennies, and Ormsaigbeg, or The Point, at five pennies. Of these thirty-one, three consisted of two tenements, viz:—Clash and Ardrinish, Daul and Gortaneorn, Ardtoe and Waterfoot. The discharge is as follows, the spelling being modernised:—"We, Archibald, Earl of Argyle, Lord Campbell and Lorne, etc., etc., grant us to have received by the hands of James Mak Coneill of Dunyvaig and Glenns, the sum of one thousand merks usual money of Scotland, in complete payment of his heritable infeftment made by us to him and his heirs, of all and haill the four score merk lands of old extent of Ardnamurchan, with their pertinents heritably, of the which sum in complete payment as said is, we hold us well content and paid, and quit claim and discharges the said James Mak Conell and his heirs and all others whom it affects for now and ever. By this our writing, subscribed with our hand, our signet is affixed at Stirling the 17th day of February, the year of God 1551 years, before these witnesses—Hector Maclean of Duart, Archibald Campbell of Clachane, Master Neil Campbell, parson of Kilmartyne, Thomas Grahame of Boquhople, and John Grahame of Boquhople, and others diverse. (Signed A., Erle of Argyle)." This designation of the two Grahames brings us very close to that given by Sir Walter Scott to one of his minor characters. "The Laird of Balmawhapple." The above-mentioned Neil Campbell appears to have been vicar of Kilmartin in 1541, also dean of Lochowe, and to have been succeeded as rector or parson in 1553 by the well-known John Carsewell, created in 1556 Bishop of the Isles, and, after the Reformation, Superintendent of Argyle and the Isles, by courtesy still called Bishop of the Isles.

The old possessors of Ardnamurchan, the Mac Iains, derived from John "Sprangaich," youngest son of Angus Mor, Lord of the Isles, this John's son Angus, being the first proprietor. Four generations apparently bring us to the John Mac Iain who was rewarded with great possessions for the capture of Sir John



*A Prospect of Mingary Castle from y^e
Sea*

Cathanach, as previously mentioned. He did not enjoy his estates long, and being attacked by Sir Donald of Lochalsh for the putting to death of Sir Alexander of Lochalsh, the warfare lasted from 1516 to 1518. Mac Iain was expelled from Ardnamurchan in 1517, the Castle of Mingarry razed to the

ground, and in 1518 Mac Iain and his two sons, John and Angus, were slain in Morven. Mariot, daughter of John Mac Iain, was served heir to him in 1538, and two years after Ardnamurchan fell into the hands of the Earl of Argyle; who in 1550 alienated it as above to James Macdonald, and the grant was confirmed the same year by Queen Mary. In the old castle many important gatherings took place. In 1593 (25th October), James IV. held his Court and granted a charter; and he was again there on 18th May, 1595. The subsequent history of Mingarry Castle, including a notice of the last Mac Iains, who found their final resting-place in Badenoch, will be given later. A sketch of the castle as in 1734 is here given, and it is hoped that the intended pier will be in harmony with present surroundings.

In the titles to Ardnamurchan, the destination was limited to James Macdonald and the heirs male of his body, whom failing, to revert to the Earl of Argyle, and as this prevented a sale, Archibald, the 5th Earl of Argyle, granted license to James to sell the lands, the purchasers to hold off the Earl on the some footing. This is the next document in date I have, and is endorsed, "License given by the Earl of Argyle to sell the lands of Ardnamurchan," and is dated at Glasgow, 16th January, 1563, the witnesses being Sir Colin Campbell of Buquhane, Knight; Dugald Campbell of Auchinbreck; Ninian Stuart of Kilchattan, and William Heyart, notary. Sir Colin Campbell of Buquhane was the Earl's brother and successor; the Campbells of Auchinbreck are afterwards referred to under date 1603; and Ninian Stuart was no doubt Cadet of Bute, who held the lands of Kilchattan and others in the parish of Kingarth, South Bute.



MACDONALD OF THE ISLES.

"The figure represent one of the Lords of the Isles sitting in judgment on the *Tom Mòid*, or Law Hill, in *Eilean Comhairlich*, with his barons around him. He wears the habergeon, or shield of mail, underneath the sleeves of a leather doublet are seen, and the legs and arms exhibit the appropriate *breacan* of Lord MacDonald. The *clogaid*, or skull-cap, is of the form worn by the old Gael. As a real head-piece, it is ornamented with a circlet of Cairngorm stones, or topazes, and the "eagle's wing," which Ossian tells us distinguished a chief, is fixed on the apex amid the badge of lovely heather. The sword represents the old *claidheamh* of the Highlander." - M'Ian's "Clans of the Scottish Highlands."

James Macdonald, in the year 1559, got the gift of the marriage of Mary Macleod, the wealthy heiress of Dunvegan, but, like other good things, it ultimately fell into the hands of Argyle. Archibald, 4th Earl of Argyle, who had always befriended James Macdonald, died in 1558, and his successor, Archibald, 5th Earl, followed in this respect in his father's footsteps. In his public career, however, though his father had been a steady supporter of the policy of the Queen Regent, he threw in his whole influence with the Lords of the Congregation, became a leading Reformer and a prime favourite notwithstanding his incontinent habits, with the prominent clergy of the new order. James Macdonald was in possession of an immense estate. He purchased, in 1554, the office of Toiseachdor of all Kintyre from Macneill of Gigha; the charters and ancient writs which had been destroyed in time of war were renewed; in 1560, he received the Bailiary of South Argyle; in 1562, Queen Mary leased him several lands; in 1563, he was infeft in lands in Uist, under agreement with Ferchar-vic-Allister of Skirrieheugh; and in 1564, he received a charter which included the Mull of Kintyre. His chief misfortune was a violent feud with the Macleans regarding the Rhinns of Isla, which began in 1562 and continued until James's death. The Privy Council, in December, 1563, determined in favour of James, but Maclean was dissatisfied, and, in 1565, both parties were bound down, under a penalty of ten thousand pounds each, to abstain from hostilities.

The following Abstract of the Rental of the Isla family in 1542, is not without interest. There is a significant note attached in a later hand, and as it refers to James Macdonald's son, probably Archibald, as dead, it would have been written after 1570. It is in these words:—

"NOTA.—The lands were let in assedation at sundry times, to umquhile James M'Connal, and to umquhile his son, for payment of £186 6s. 8d., and was never paid since James V. time."

James V. died in 1542, The rates of conversion of the rents other than monies, is instructive. Two merks, or less than half-a-crown, for a winter "mairt" was very moderate, even three hundred and fifty years ago.

RENTAL OF ISLA IN 1542:—

"NORTH KINTYRE—Money, £125 10s. 3d. ; Oatmeal, 308¾ stones ; Malt, 4 chalders, 10 bolls ; Marts, 6, and 1 cow ; Muttons, 41.

"SOUTH KINTYRE—Money, £162 8s. 4d. ; Meal, 588 stones, 2 firlots ; Malt, 25 chalders, 14 bolls, 2 firlots ; Marts, 48 ; Muttons, 53 ; Cheese, 342¾ stones.

"ISLA AND RINNS—Money, £45 os. 11d. ; Meal, 2593 stones ; Marts, 301 ; Muttons, 301 ; Cheese, 2161 stones, 2 pecks ; Geese, 301 ; Poultry, 301."

Meal was converted at 2s. per stone ; Cheese at 2s. ; Malt at 5s. per chalder ; Marts at 2 merks ; Sheep at 2s. ; Geese at 4d. ; Poultry 2d. ; all Scots money.

James of Isla's treatment of guests, and general disposition, is well illustrated by the following letter from Sir James Melville in 1549, taken from his memoirs. In that year Melville was sent as a page of Honour to Queen Mary, in company with the Bishop of Valence. The Bishop first went to Ireland by request of the French King, to stir up the Irish Chiefs to cast off the English yoke.

"From O'Doherty's house we went to the dwelling place of the Bishop of Roy, Rathlin, not far from the narrow Firth that runs from Loch Seul to the Sea. There rested three weeks tarrying upon ane longsaid, or Highland barque which James MacConnell should have sent from Kintyre with his brother Angus to carry us back to Dumbarton, which being come for us we departed to a castle which the said

M'Conal had in Ireland, and from that we embarked, and rested a night in the Isle of Jura, and the next night in the Isle of Bute. But by the way we tint our rudder, and was in great peril of drowning ; but Angus after he had taken down the sail, said that we were safe, but had drowned were it not that deed of his. When we came to Kintyre, James M'Connal treated us honourably, and said that the Bishop was welcomer for my sake, because he was friendly intreated of my father, when he was warded in the Castle of Dunbar, during the time that my father was Captain thereof ; of whom he made an honourable report to the Bishop: occasion that I was aye the longer, the better treated ; for the Bishop said he believed to have been rather welcome for that he was recommended by the Queen Dowager as Ambassador to the King of France. Always M'Connall would have me sit at the head of the board. After he had caused us land at Dumbarton by his said brother Angus, we rode to Stirling."

James Macdonald was so actively engaged in Scotland that his affairs in Ireland were looked to by, and the ownership practically given over to his younger brother, Sorley Buie, a man of great energy, who not only maintained possession of the family estates, but added thereto by the expulsion of the MacQuillins from the Route of Antrim. Troubles arose, however. Shane O'Neill quarrelled with his father, with the English, and with the Scottish settlers, who desired to remain neutral. Sorley, driven to extremities, called for the assistance of his brother James, who arrived in Ireland with a large force. The Macdonalds were completely defeated, and both brothers taken prisoners. This occurred on 2nd May, 1565, and James was confined in Castle Corcke, near Strabane. James Macdonald's release on ransom was demanded by Queens Mary and Elizabeth and the Earl of Argyle, but in vain ; and, dying shortly after, the universal belief was that he was murdered by order of O'Neill. James's death was much regretted in the three kingdoms. Of him the "*Four Masters*" say "that the death of this gentleman was generally bewailed;

he was a paragon of hospitality and prowess; a festive man of many troops; a bountiful and munificent man. His peer was not to be found at that time among the Clan Donnell of Ireland or Scotland, and his own people would not have deemed it too much to give his weight in gold for his ransom, if he could have been ransomed."

Prior to the accession of James VI., the English were exceedingly jealous of the presence of the Scots in Ulster, holding that they could not be subjects of two kingdoms. This objection in time ceased, and Sorley Buie, after two years' captivity, was restored to freedom, maintained his own against all comers, and, declaring his intention of remaining in Ireland, made his peace with Elizabeth. In 1586, he was assured of all his lands, his fourth son, Reginald, who ultimately succeeded, being created Earl of Antrim. James's widow, known as Lady Kintyre, married Torlogh O'Neill, afterwards Earl of Tyrone, and her daughter, Ineen, married Sir Hugh O'Donnell of Donegal. Their object was to strengthen the claim of James Macdonald's family to their ancient estate, which Sorley Buie, after being released, on the slaughter of Shane O'Neill, claimed as his own. Both ladies are highly spoken of. Lady Kintyre was willing to marry O'Neill, "provided she and her sons might enjoy the inheritance that her late husband and his ancestors held in Ireland for seven generations; but if not, then as long as any of the clan lived, their title to these lands would never be relinquished, or undefended." And, again, that she was "a grave, wise, well-spoken lady, both in Scots, English, and French, and well mannered." Of her daughter Lady O'Donnell, known as "Ineen dubh," that "she possessed the heart of a hero, and the mind of a warrior."

The English did not desire the success of either Sorley Buie, or of James's children, and fomented all quarrels, until at length Sorley Buie was practically left in possession. The various steps taken by him and his successor to establish themselves permanently in Antrim are full of interest, but outside the general scope of these papers. It appears rather hard that James's death assisting his brother should have been the cause of the Isla family losing their Irish estates.

Differences continued at a later period betwixt the Antrims and Angus, 8th of Isla, but in the end friendly intercourse subsisted, and a close alliance betwixt the former and Donald Gorme of Sleat, and other heads of the Scottish Macdonalds. James had at least two sons—Archibald and Angus—who survived, and, dying in 1565, was succeeded by his eldest son, Archibald.

VII.—Archibald succeeded his father James Macdonald, no doubt so called, seeing the name had not occurred before, after the Earl of Argyle. In 1564, during his father's lifetime, he received a charter of the extensive barony of Bar, in Kintyre, wherein he is designed son and apparent heir of James Macdonald of Dunyvaig. This charter included the 30-merk land of Sunart. The only document I have connected with Archibald is precept of Clare Constat, signed by Archibald 5th Earl of Argyle, in favour of Archibald Macdonald of Dunyvaig and the Glens, as heir of his late father, James, for infesting him in the lands of Ardnamurchan. The precept bears that James died in the reign of Henry and Mary (29th July, 1565—10th February, 1567). The precept is signed by the Earl, and has his seal attached, but neither place, witness, nor date, except "one thousand five hundred and sixty ———years," the indication inferring it was prepared in the reign

of Henry and Mary, and if, as is recorded, James Macdonald was taken prisoner on 2nd May, 1565, he must have survived until after 29th July of that year. The date of Archibald's death is uncertain, but in his time, as well as that of his father and grandfather, the family estates were built up anew, and seemed to be firmly re-established. Frequent mention is made of a third brother of Archibald's, no doubt the younger son (Archibald being then dead) referred to by Lady Tyrone in her negotiations with England, whom she was willing to have the Irish estates, and be subject to Queen Elizabeth. On the other hand, the English, to punish Sorley Buie and frustrate his schemes, gave promises of the Glens to Angus and his son, who, however, elected to transact with Sorley, and ultimately, as I have said, Sorley came to final terms with Queen Elizabeth. Archibald Macdonald was succeeded by

VIII.—Angus Macdonald, who received from Archibald, 5th Earl of Argyle, a precept of Clare Constat, in Ardnamurchan, as heir of his father, James, signed 'Ar^d. Ergyle,' dated Edinburgh, 16th May, 1569, of which a *fac-simile* is here given. The seal, natural size, in fine preservation, is also given. Angus also received a precept for infeftment in these lands, as heir of Archibald Macdonald, the propinquity being left blank. This charter is dated at Duart, 10th October, 1570, the witnesses being Dougall Campbell of Auchinbreck, James Campbell of Arkinglass, John, Bishop of the Isles, Alexander Macnaughton of Dunondaralbie, John Stewart, and others. The seal is gone. Gregory says that Angus's name first appears in 1573, but he began making up titles, as shown above, in 1569. He succeeded to a great estate, but, pursued by ill fate, mingled with folly, died practically a

beggar. The unravelment of his complicated career is too wide for these papers, and some of the more salient points only can be



CHARTER GRANTED BY ARCHIBALD, 5TH EARL OF ARGYLE—1569.

touched upon. Angus resolved to strengthen his influence by entering into bonds of friendship with men of consequence and

septs of fighting men, extending as far north as Inverness.* The first date I have is one with James Lamont of Inveryne, dated Towart, 1st September, 1579, and is as follows:—



SEAL OF ARCHIBALD 5TH EARL OF ARGYLE, 1569.

* There was a contract of friendship betwixt Donald Gorme of Sleat, for himself, and taking burden upon him for Angus vic James Lord of Kintyre, on the one part, and Lachlan Mackintosh, Captain of the Clan Chattan, on the other part, executed at Inverness, penult May, 1587.

"At Towart, the first day of August, in the year of God 1569 years. It is appointed, agreed, and ended betwixt the Right Honourable persons underwritten. They are, to say, Angus M'Donill of Dunnieweg, Oge, and Glennis on the one part, and James Lamont of Inveryne on the tother part, as after follows:—That for as meikle as there has been in times past, amity, friendship, and kindness betwixt the said parties houses, and to the effect that the same may continue, in times coming amongst them, the said Angus M'Donill binds and obliges him, by the tenour hereof, to stand ane afald friend to the said James Lawmount and his house, and shall fortify, maintain, and defend them in all and sundry their just actions, causes, and debates against whatsoever in times coming, the authority, and my Lord of Argille only excepted. For the which cause the said James Lawmont, his kin and friends, and their house, binds and obliges them and their heirs to take ane afald part with the said Angus and his house, and to serve and obey him in all and sundry his and their causes, quarrels and debates, lawful and honest, against whatsoever person or persons in times coming, the authority and my Lord Erle of Argille being excepted, and, in verification hereof, both the saids parties, have subscribed this present contract with their subscription manual, day, year, and place above written before these witnesses—Archibald vic Angus Ilycht, Johne vic Alexander of Large, Johne Lawmont of Askok, Donald Campbell of Auchynmollen, Archibald Campbell, Captaine of Dunnon, and Robert Stewart of Auchynske, with others diverse. (Signed) Angus M'Connell off Downweag, James Lamont of Inveryne."

The family of Lamont of that ilk is an ancient one, found as early as 1230 holding lands in Kilfinan of Cowal, and the Inveryne branch, an important one, practically supplanted the head for about a century. In 1548, the names of John Lamont, of Inveryne, and Duncan, his son and heir-apparent, appear, and in 1597 this James Lamont is served heir to his son Robert in the extensive barony of Inveryne, within the Deanery of Glassary. Referring to the witnesses, the Macdonalds of Largie, in Kintyre, descended of Ranald, younger son of Donald Balloch, have long held and still hold a good position; John Lamont and Robert Stewart, both of Askok and Auchynske, lay within the Barony of



LARGIE CASTLE, KINTYRE—SEAT OF THE MACDONALDS OF LARGIE.

Inveryne; in 1536, Robert Campbell of Auchmyllne, a £5 land, including the mill lying within the old Parish of Dunoon and Bailiary of Cowal, is mentioned; and in 1571, the Earl of Argyle grants to Archibald Campbell, keeper of the Castle of Dunoon, a piece of land called "The Castle Aiker," lying near the Castle of Dunoon, with the office of steward or bailie of the town of Dunoon, the four-merk lands of Innellan, etc., and in 1573, this Archibald is styled Captain of Dunoon.

The next bond is with the Clan Allister beg, and it is fortunate that Sir James Macdonald had endorsed the document, "Bond, Clan Allister beg, in Aran, bairnes part of gear and calpes," thereby indicating the locality, which is not mentioned in the body of the document. This document is very curious, and includes many names of the people inhabiting three hundred years ago the lands of Machrimore, Machribeg, and others on the west side of Arran, and Parish of Kilmorie. In the years 1445 to 1450, Ronald vic Allister was tenant under the Crown of considerable lands, rented in all at £13 6s. 8d. and six bolls ferme, whereof Machrimore and Achagallane were rented at 40s., and during all these years Ranald paid no rent. In 1455 Donald Balloch paid the island of Arran a hostile visit and some of the crimes for which John, Lord of the Isles and Earl of Ross was forfeited in 1475, were stated to be depredations and slaughters committed by him in the Isles of Bute and Arran. The twenty-merks land of Shisken, in Arran, was granted by Reginald, son of Somerled, in 1250, to the monks of Sagadull. In 1556, James Macdonald of Isla, who appears to have claimed or possessed these lands, resigned the same in favour of James, Earl of Arran; and in consideration of his being infeft in the lands of Saddel, and of the

keeping the place of the same, with its fees and emoluments, by James, Duke of Chatelherault, he (James) bound himself not only to refrain from invasions and slaughters in the island of Arran, but also to defend and maintain the same from invasion by others. Angus Macdonald renewed his father's obligation by bond to John, Lord Hamilton, dated at Hamilton, 20th April, 1591. By the document now given, the Clan Allister beg ("Sliochd Iain Our vic Allister") appear to have sought protection of Angus. The giving of calpe was felt as a most greivous tax. I observe that on 25th September, 1591, John dhu vic Allister vic Ranald, for himself, and as taken burden on him for his sons, and his foster-child, Archibald M'Conill, son of Angus M'Conill of Dunivaig, binds himself and them as servants and obedient to John, Lord Hamilton. This sept were styled Clan Allister beg, doubtless to distinguish them from the Clan Allister of Kintyre, descended of Allister, son of Donald, the grandson of Somerled. The heads of this Clan Allister were known as the Macallisters of Loupe.

The Clan Allister beg bond, with the spelling modernised, is now given, but as the document is in bad preservation and partly torn away, some of the words are doubtful.

"At the Mauchremour, the 7th day of January, the year of God 1580 years. It is agreed, appointed, and finally ended betwixt the Right Honourable Angus M'Connaill of Dunnevaig and Glennis on the one part, and George M'Callester bege vic Allister and the remanent descended of John Our Mac Allester, called Sliochd Iain Our vic Allester, on the other part, as follows:—That is to say, for so meikle, as the said George and Sliochd Iain Our underwritten, has bound and obliged themselves to pay and deliver to the said Angus the sum of five hundred merks money of this realm, for the kinbite and slaughter of umquhile John Grome M'Duncan Staivie (?); And therefore the said Angus M'Connaill promises faithfully to take a plain part with the said George M'Callester bege, and the remanent of Sliochd Iain

Our, in all and sundry their causes, actions, quarrels, and debates—leisum, lawful, and honest—against all manner of man in times coming, the authority excepted. For the which causes the said George M'Callester beg, Duncan his son, Allester M'Callester his son, Donald, John Our, and Charles M'Callester, his sons also; Duncan M'Callester Maol, and his sons; Alester vic Iain Chittach and his sons; Angus vic Iain Chittach; John Our M'Allester Maol; John Mac Angus vic Sorlie; Angus M'Gorrycht; Gorrycht Mac Donil vic Gorrycht; Ranald M'Sorlie, and Duncan Buie, his brother, and all their sons: Donald M'Conchie Maol, Hector, his brother, and Ranald M'Duncan Maol, his brother, and their sons; and Sorlie M'Ranald and his sons, and the remanent of Sliochd Iain Our vic Allester; Binds and obliges them and their heirs to give ane bairn's part of gear and their calpes to the said Angus M'Connaill and his heirs, for each one of them, and shall loyally, truly, and obediently serve, answer, and obey the said Angus M'Connaill and his heirs in all honest and lawful service against all manner of men that may live in time coming, provided always that the said Angus's son and heirs whatsoever be warranty and defender of the said persons above written. In verification hereof the said Angus M'Connaill, together with the said George and the remanent of Sliochd Iain Our has subscribed the these presents as follows, day, year, and place foresaid, before these witnesses:—Ranald M'Allester, Hector M'Callester, his brother, and Gilliecallum vic Iain hewy (?), servants to the said Angus, with others diverse. (Signed.) Angus M'Connaill of Dunevaig, George M'Allester bege, Donald M'Duncan maol, Charles M'Duncan maol, Ranald M'Duncan maol, Duncan M'Callester maol, for themselves and the remanent of their house, and bairns of Sliochd Iain Our has subscribed this contract with their hands led at the pen by Adam M'Kay, because they could not write. Adam M'Kay as witness."

Angus Macdonald's life was so disturbed that one gladly hears of pleasant breaks. The island of Sanda, of old Avon, at the south of Kintyre, is situated almost opposite to Dunaverty Castle. A rare book, privately printed, without date or place, but understood to have been printed by Davidson,* in London, 1825, titled, "A Genealogical and Historical Account of the Family of Sanda,"

* In my copy the printer's name at the end is carefully scraped out.

contains some interesting particulars of the family of Macdonald of Sanda, which originated with Angus, younger son of Sir John Cathanach. The family distinguished itself in the time of Montrose, and, still existing, maintains its ancient credit.

The Sanda history, like that of Clanranald, claims that John Mor, first of Isla, and of Dunyvaig and the Glens, was second son of the first marriage of John, Lord of the Isles, and while I have so stated it in these papers, the leading authorities point to his being second son by the second marriage with King Robert II.'s daughter. The small island of Sanda had no less than three holy places, and in a MS., circa 1600, the writer makes the following interesting reference to Angus, while engaged in the time-honoured pastime of *camanachd*, and we should be disposed to hold he and his men, "chief of the youth of Kintyre," just the kind of team the champion "Cowal Club" of to-day would be eager to meet:—"In it (Sanda) is a church dedicated to St. Ninian, having a sacred place of sepulture, which no one dare enter with impunity. Angus, whom I have myself seen, once went there with a numerous band, chief of the youth of Kintyre, and, after transacting their serious business, exercised themselves, as was their wont, in the game of shinty; and the ball having been driven into the cemetery, a youth who fetched it died of a swollen foot."

In 1580, Angus Macdonald, as patron of Kilchousland, confirms a charter by Sir Neil Macneil, vicar, to Adam Mackay, mentioned in these papers. In 1590, Angus sold the £20-land of Gigha for 3000 merks to Sir John Campbell of Calder, which lands had been acquired by his father, James Macdonald, from the Macneils in 1554. In 1591, Calder is cautioner for Angus and Donald Gorme of Sleat.

The following bond of friendship betwixt Angus Macdonald and the hereditary Sheriff of Bute has been engraved for these papers, and is as follows, the spelling being modernised. The Stewarts of Bute rank among the most illustrious families of Scotland, and the present accomplished head worthily represents his ancient house :—



BOND—ISLA AND BUTE—1587.

“ At Rothesay, the eighteenth day of May, the year of God one thousand five hundred four score and twelve years. We, Angus M'Conald of Dunyvaig, and John Stewart, Sheriff of Bute, every one of us, for continuance of love and friendship amongst us, our kin, and servants, as presently stands, praised be God ; By the tenour hereof affirms and ratifies the same kindness as is contained in word and writ of before ; and promises faithfully every one of us, for our own parts, as we

shall answer to God, to be faithful and true every one of us to one another in all things concerning our honour and weal, and to give counsel hereunto for our own weal, and to do and take part thereuntil as becomes every one of us of our honest old friendship and alliance. And, for faithful observing hereof, every one of us has subscribed these presents with our hands, day, year, and place foresaid, before these witnesses—Archibald Macdonald of Machrieroche, Archibald Macdonald of Largie, and John Stewart of Askog, &c. (Signed.) Angus M'Connall of Dunivaig, Jhone Stewart, Scheref of Bute."

Of the witnesses, Archibald Macdonald of Machrieroche is described in 1590 as Archibald M'Connill, *alias* Elytsone of Machrieroche, in South Kintyre; Archibald Macdonald of Largie's family have already been referred to; and John Stewart of Askog was cadet of Bute.

The next document I have is a lease by Angus Macdonald of the ten-merks land of Reseboll, in Sunart, to the Rev. Donald Mac Aonas Mac vic Finlay, minister of Eilean Finan, and Finlay Maol Macdonald, estate officer of Sunart, probably brothers. Leases of this old date are always valuable, and this one forms no exception. While the landlord warrants the possession, he also maintains and defends the tenant, and, on the other hand, the tenant not only pays rent but gives service. It should be remembered, to Angus's credit, that he did not raise the rent, leaving the same as by use and wont. The period of endurance is indefinite, and is important in ascertaining what the real position of tenant and occupier was of old. Though the spelling is modernised the language is so rude that the meaning is occasionally doubtful. I have not hitherto observed the name of this clergyman of Eilean Finan parish, now united with Ardnamurchan. The old church stood in a small island lying toward the south-east of Loch Shiel, and to this day reputed a

place of sanctity. Neither have I observed the name of John MacGhey, vicar of Kildalton, who was probably the writer of the document.

“ Be it kenned to all men by these presents, me, Angus M'Conall of Dunywag and Glenis, &c, grants to have set in assedation for farm duty, and service letting, and by the tenor hereof sets, and for farm duty and service sets to my loving servitours, Donald Mac Innis Mac vic Finlay, minister of Ilan-Inan, and to Finlay Macdonald maol Mac vic Finlay, all and hail the ten-merk land of the farm land of Reseboll, with the pertinents thereof, lying within the land of Sunart, and sheriffdom of Tarbert, the said Donald and Finlay, their heirs and assignees, paying to me, the said Angus, and my heirs and assignees, yearly, the ferme of old use and wont, their entry being at the Whitsunday afore the day and date hereof, and this ferme to be paid every year at the Whitsunday term. This ten-merk land, before named, of farm land shall be enjoyed, bruiked, and possessed by the saids Donald and Finlay, their heirs and assignees, as long and during the true, leal, affaild (honest) service done to me, the said Angus, and my heirs ;—And in like manner I, the said Angus, binds and obliges me, my heirs and assignees, to assist, warrant, and defend the saids Donald and Finlay against all manner of men whatsoever, during their true service done to me, the said Angus, and my posteretheis (successors ?) against all manner of men whatsoever,—And attour, when the ferme is paid yearly at the term, the officer's part to be allowed. In witness, and for more verification of this letter of tack, we, the saids Angus, and Donald, and Finlay, our heirs, subscribes this present letter at Ardtelwa, the 17th day of August, 1595, before these witnesses—John Oig Macleod, John Oig Mac Iaine, and Ion M'Ghey, wicar and minister of Kildalton, &c. (Signed) Angus M'Connall of Dunwaig, Donald Mac vic Finlay, minister of Ellanfyman, Finlay Macdonald Maol, officer of the saidis landis foirsaid, with my hand on the pen.”

The last of the documents I have connected with Angus Macdonald is a bond of friendship by Dougall, afterwards Sir Dougall Campbell of Auchinbreck, dated 25th August, 1603, the signatures to which, being those of men of some consequence, are given in *fac-simile*. In a singular old MS. genealogy of the

Argyles, done by Advocate Campbell, styling himself "Bailie of Argyle," and which terminates with John, second Duke of Argyle, who succeeded in 1703—No. 40 of the line—I observe from my copy, which is not very legible, that, beginning with "Smerrie Mor," who married a sister of King Aiden of Scotland, (crowned Anno 542), the chronicling bailie in due time reaches No. 28, viz., Duncan, father of the first Auchinbreck. Here is the account :—

"28. Duncan-an-aigh is said in France to have killed a boar, for which reason the family has a boar's head in their arms ; he married Marjory Stuart, daughter to Robert, Duke of Albany, Governor of the Kingdom under his brother, King Robert the Third, second King of the Stuarts. This King Robert was he that was called John Harnyear? So his wife was King Robert's niece, and grandchild to King Robert Bruce, daughter to King Robert Bruce, by whom the crown came to the Stuarts. This Duncan begat on this noble lady two sons and a daughter, viz., Archibald Roy and Colin, afterwards Sir Colin Campbell of Glenurchy, called Colin-dubh-na-Roimh, who married Margaret Stewart, eldest daughter to the Lord Lorn. She built Castle Kilchurn, in the head of Loch Ow, in her husband's absence at Rome. On his return he became tutor to Argyle, his nephew ; built the tower of Inveraray. He married four times, and lived 100 years. Duncan-an-Aigh's second marriage was with Margaret Stuart, daughter to Sir John Stuart of Ardgowan, now called Blackhall, a natural son of King Robert, and had many sons of her, viz., Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck, whose offspring were called Sliochd Donchy ; (2) Neil Campbell, of whom the Laird of Ellangireg ; (3) Archibald, the first Laird of Ottar, in Cowal. This Duncan-an-Aigh was contemporary with King Robert the Third, second King of the Stuarts, crowned anno 1390, and with King James 1st, crowned 1424."

I may mention that Duncan-an-Aigh is stated to have been so called, being fortunate in his life, while his feeble-minded brother John, predecessor of Barbreck, had the significant appellation of "Annain." Sir Dougall Campbell of Auchinbreck was a leading man among the Campbells betwixt the years 1592 and 1625.

"Be it kenned to all men by these present letters, We, Angus M'Connald of Dounavaig, and Dougall Campbell of Auchinbreck, understanding the ancient, honourable, and mutual bond, and the great friendship that was, and is, betwixt the house of Kintyre and the house of Auchinbreck, and now we, the saids Angus M'Connald and Dougall Campbell of Auchinbreck, being of that same good mind that our predecessors was to others, and willing to renew the said ancient and honourable bond, I, the said Dougall Campbell of Auchinbreck to be bound and obliged, like as I, by the tenor hereof, binds and obliges me for myself, and the haill house of Auchinbreck, and all others my vassals, friends, servants, tenants, and dependers to fortify, assist, maintain and defend the said Angus M'Connald of Dounavaig, his friends, vassals, servants, and dependers in all his and their honest, honourable, and leisome affairs and adoes whatsoever contrar, whatsoever person or persons (His Majesty and the Earl of Argyll except), and shall not by myself, or by any of my house or any dependers, hear or see the said Angus or any of his house or dependers hurt, or skaith, either in body, lands, or goods, without it come by His Majesty, or by my Lord Earl of Argyll, but I shall stop and latt the same to my power, and make the said Angus and his friends to be foreseen hereof, in so far as I and my said friends may by any moyan either by sea or land, and to corroborate the former bond and this new bond Likeas has given a solemn private oath to perform the same, and shall renew the same *toties quoties* if I be required thereto. In witness whereof I have subscribed this bond with my hand, as likeways the said Angus has subscribed the like bond to me, at Skipnish, the 15th day of August, 1603 years, before these witnesses, Colin Campbell of Kilberrie, Neill M'Neill of Thynis, Malcolm M'Neill his brother, Alexander Macdougall Persone of Kildaltane, Hector M'Neill, fiar of Thynis; and Cuthbert Adamsoun, Commissar of Argyll. (Signed) Dougall Campbell off Auchinbreck, Colin Campbell of Kilberrie, witness; Neil M'Neill of Thynis, witness; Alexander M'Dougall Persone of Kildaltane, witness; Cuthbert Adamson, witness.

Without some account of the desperate feuds betwixt the Isla family, and the Macleans, the story of Angus Macdonald's life would be incomplete. In place of attempting to summarise matters, and committing myself to either side, I propose to transcribe the account given by the historian of a northern clan



TARBERT CASTLE, LOCHFYNE—A STRONGHOLD OF THE MACDONALDS.



TARBERT, LOCHFVNE

unconnected with either by close ties, but friendly to the Macdonalds.—“*Manuscript History of the Frasers*, intended for publication 1749.” This history has not been published, was written about 150 years ago, is conceived in easy and concise language, and the part now given was introduced as a matter of general importance in Scottish history of the time:—

“Here it may be observed that, by undue influence, King James was in 1588 induced to confirm to Hector Maclean certain lands in the Rhinns of Isla, stating that they at one time pertained to his predecessors.

“There had been a quarrel of an old standing between the M'Donalds of the Western Isles and the M'Leans, which was like to prove fatal to either sometime. As far back as the year 1586, Donald Gorm-mor of Slait, intending to visit his brother, Angus M'Donald of Kintyre, he embarks in the Isle of Skye, but was driven by contrary winds on the Isle of Jura, which was divided betwixt the M'Donalds and the M'Leans. He happened to land on the side of the island belonging to the M'Leans.

“About the same time that Donald Gorm landed, two gentlemen of the name of M'Donald who had a quarrel with him, arrived in the island with a company of men, who, understanding that he was there, they secretly, under silence of the night, seized a number of cattle belonging to the M'Leans, and carried them off in their boat, knowing that Donald Gorm and his retinue would be blamed, and that the M'Leans would revenge the loss of their cattle upon them, which accordingly happened.

“Sir Lachlane M'Lean being alarmed, presently raises his men, and under silence of the night marches and attacks Donald Gorm and his company, and killed 60 of his followers dead upon the spot. Donald himself and the rest escaped to a ship that stood in the harbour waiting a fair wind.

“Angus M'Donald of Kintyre hearing of this unhappy affair betwixt his cousin Donald Gorm and his brother-in-law, Sir Lachlane M'Lean for he was married to Sir Lachlane's sister- he resolved to lose no time in setting out for the Isle of Skye, to wait for Donald Gorm, and to offer his good offices to make up a peace betwixt two such near relations.



DUNTULM CASTLE, ISLE OF SKYE—AN ANCIENT STRONGHOLD OF THE MACDONALDS.

"Having stayed some time in the Isle of Sky with his cousin, he returns home, and in his way lands at Mull, and went to Dowart, M'Lean's principal residence, though his two brothers, Coll and Ronald, used their utmost effort to dissuade him from seeing Sir Lachlane at that time, but rather to make an appointment with him to meet him in some proper place, and at the same time to acquaint him that though Donald Gorm was so greatly injured by him, yet he was disposed to have matters amicably adjusted. But Angus had such confidence in his brother-in-law that nothing could dissuade him from seeing him then, upon which his brothers left him, but his cousin Ronald accompanied him to Dowart.

"Sir Lachlane at first received him with a show and appearance of great civility, but at length Angus was seized with his men and secured in prison. His cousin Ranald narrowly escaped that night, but Angus was detained close prisoner till he renounced his title and right to the Rinns of Islay, which was the heritage of the M'Donalds by donation from the king for their personal services. Angus in the end was forced to consent, or die. He gave James, his eldest son, and Ranald, his brother, as hostages for the performance, to remain at Dowart till Sir Lachlane was put in possession of the Rinns, which being done they were set at liberty.

"Angus, full of resentment at the injuries done to his cousin and himself, meditates how to be revenged. In order to which he sends a kind invitation to Sir Lachlane to come to Islay to finish their agreement, and to get the sasine of the Rinns. Sir Lachlane accepts the invitation, and leaving Ranald, one of the hostages, in fetters at Dowart, he brings the other, James, who was his own nephew, along with him to his house, promising to make him as welcome as his heart could make him while his provisions lasted.

It was a custom among the Highlanders to visit from house to house making merry while the provisions lasted, then they would carry the master of the last house with them to the next, and so on. Angus said he did not choose to demean himself in such a way thro' Ilay, as he had not the least doubt but he would be fond of a proper opportunity to revenge the treatment he had given him. But Angus protested that he meant to live in the greatest friendship with him as a brother. But besides had he not the dearest pledges he could give him in the world already. Add to all this it was his sister's house, who would neither countenance nor suffer the least wrong to be done to the meanest of her relations, and far less to her brother. In fine Sir Lachlan was prevailed upon to go with him which he did without any fear or

suspicion, accompanied with eighty of his relations and kinsmen besides servants, to Angus' house, where they were entertained at a very high rate. Sir Lachlan kept James his hostage with him every night in his bed-chamber in case of any attack.

"Angus had privately warned all his friends in the Island to be in full armour at his house about midnight, and to wait his signal resolving to kill them all the very first night after their arrival. After supper M'Lean, at his own desire, lodged with all his men in a long strong house that lay at a little distance from the rest of the houses in the town, keeping still his hostage James with him. About midnight when it was thought all were asleep, Angus surrounded the house with 400 men in arms. He came himself to the door, and called upon Sir Lachlan to rise and let him in that he might give him his sleeping drink, which he had forgot to give him before he went to bed. Sir Lachlan thanked him but told him he wanted none then. Angus, however, insisted that he should come out and take it. Sir Lachlan suspecting the worst rose and went to the door, carrying James his hostage and nephew, in his arms. The boy seeing his father with a drawn sword in his hand at the door, and others in the same way about it, cried for mercy to his uncle, which was granted, and M'Lean retired with him to a private room till morning. About daylight Angus M'Donald called to all that were with M'Lean, that such of them as wanted to save their lives should come out and surrender themselves which all did except two, who refused to come out and were therefore burnt in the house. Next day there was a report spread through all Ilay that Sir Lachlan's friends at Dowart had caused Ronald, Angus' brother, the other hostage, to be put to death. Though this was a false alarm, yet Angus desired no more than to be revenged on the M'Leans, for the very next day he caused sixty of M'Lean's followers to be beheaded in couples.

"The Earl of Argyle being informed of these outrages acquaints the King and Council with it, upon which a herald was despatched to summon Angus to deliver Sir Lachlan M'Lean to the Earl of Argyle. But the harbour at which the herald should land was blocked up so that he could not land but was obliged to return without doing anything. But after a great deal of pains and travail by Sir James Stewart the Chancellor and others, and after imposing very high conditions, Sir Lachlan was released, and Ronald, his brother, and the other hostage set at liberty, and further Sir Lachlan was obliged to give his own son and M'Leod of Harris' son as hostages to Angus M'Donald, and thus matters were adjusted between them at that time.

"Some time after this Angus M'Donald being obliged to go over to Ireland upon some affairs of importance, Sir Lachlan M'Lean no sooner came to know this than he invaded Ilay in a hostile manner, and burnt, killed, pillaged all before him without the least regard to his own faith or the safety of the hostages. Angus M'Donald having returned from Ireland never troubles the innocent hostages for the outrages committed in his absence, but in great rage convokes his men and in a hostile manner enters Tyree, belonging to the M'Leans, and with fire and sword kills all the inhabitants and cattle that was for the use of man, without exception or distinction, and from that proceeded to Mull, killing all the M'Leans that came in his way, at his pleasure.

"Sir Lachlan in the meantime enters Kintyre with fire and sword and lays it waste. Thus for a while they ruined one another till both their countries were desolate. At length Sir Lachlan to detach John M'Iain M'Donald of Ardnamurchan from Angus M'Donald's party, he invited him to Mull promising him his mother, to whom he had formerly been a suitor in marriage. John M'Donald accepts of the invitation, goes to Mull and was married, but it being whispered that he could not be detached from Angus M'Donald's interest and party, a few nights after the marriage, the chamber where John M'Donald lay was forced open. He was violently dragged out of bed from his wife and made prisoner, and eighteen of his followers killed on the spot, nor would they accept of his eldest son as hostage for him. At length Sir Lachlan M'Lean and Angus M'Donald were both charged with a herald to compear before the King at Edinburgh, under pain of forfeiture. Both compeared and were committed close prisoners to the Castle of Edinburgh; at length they were both reconciled and got remissions and a severe penalty imposed upon the first that would break the peace.

"A considerable time after this Sir Lachlan M'Lean resolves to strike at the root of the M'Donalds of South Isles, having borrowed or purchased an action against the whole Isle of Islay, the ancient inheritance of the M'Donalds. He thought it a very proper time to accomplish his design when his brother-in-law and famous antagonist Angus M'Donald was laid aside by old age and infirmities, and Sir James M'Donald his nephew and the right heir was but young and inexperienced. He therefore raised his men and enters Isla with an army to take possession of it by virtue of his pretended claim.



CLAN MACDONALD

From "Highlanders of Scotland," by Kenneth Macleay, R.S.A. (*The Queen's Book of the Clans*), published by Mr. Mitchell, London, in 1870.

- (1). Farquhar MacDonald, born in 1831, in the Island of Scalpa.
- (2). Lachlan MacDonald, born in 1836, at Elligoll, Strath, Skye.

"Sir James M'Donald being informed of the preparations made by his uncle, endeavours to be as ready as he. Accordingly they entered Isla much about the same time, several offering their good offices to adjust matters, and to make up the difference between them. Sir James being the more reasonable of the two was willing for peace, to let his uncle Sir Lachlan to possess the half of Isla during his life, provided he would hold it of him, as the Macleans his predecessors, held of his ancestors, the Macdonalds, and offered to refer the whole dispute to the King's Majesty, or any other Arbiter. But nothing less than the whole would please Sir Lachlan, whereupon they parted, and both parties prepare to decide the controversy by the longest sword,—Sir James having fewer men, better trained, a most bloody battle was fought,—Sir Lachlan M'Lean with eighty of the gentlemen of his name and two hundred common soldiers were killed on the spot, his son Lachlan was severely wounded and he and all that remained of the M'Leans were chased to their vessels. There were sixty of the M'Donalds killed and as many wounded, Sir James being dangerously wounded, shot through the body with the arrow and left for dead most of the ensuing night among the slain.

"The King being incensed with these broils, and finding that the original Right of Isla and Kintyre was at his own disposal, he gave the whole land in feu to the Earl of Argyle, who apprehended Sir James and imprisoned him within the Castle of Edinburgh where he was confined a long time."

From the Extract Clan History before given, it will be seen that Angus had two brothers, Coll and Ronald. In the Kalendar of State Papers of Queen Elizabeth, Scottish Series, there is a memorandum in the hand-writing of Sir Robert Cecil, circa 1602, regarding Angus Macdonald's family and connection with the Irish Macdonalds. The English Queen's representatives and correspondents in Scotland spied out and reported the most trivial events, and her advisers had the great Scottish families' pedigrees, connections, quarrels &c. minutely before them. Sir Robert Cecil gives James Macdonald, 6th of Isla, family, as (1) Archibald who died without issue; (2) Angus of whom we are now treating; (3) Ronald or Randal; (4) Coll who died without issue; (5)



Donald Gorme, and (6) Alexander whom he styles "Carrach" and must not be confounded with the first Keppoch.

Angus married Fynvola, daughter of Hector Oig Maclean of Duart, who is not named in the Baronage unless identical with the Florence therein mentioned, who is said to have married Hector Roy Maclean of Coll; and if so, Angus Macdonald was her second husband.

One of the charges against Sir James Macdonald, when indicted in 1604, was that in January, 1597, by the desire of the Laird of Loupe, then at great enmity with the Tutor of Loupe who happened to be visiting Angus Macdonald at Askomell, two miles distant from Simerby, where Sir James lived, he, Sir James, with a large party, on refusal of Angus to surrender the Tutor or open the doors, set fire to the house, to the imminent danger of those within. The lady is described as calling out "Thiefe, will thou burn thy mother," altogether a shocking occurrence. The word "thief" was of old a general term of opprobrium much extended from its primary signification, and probably in this case signified "Devil" or "Spirit of Mischief." In the times when witchcraft was reputed as common in the land, the ladies who wished to lay the wind, which they had raised in the Devil's name, if they failed in the first instance to do so, called upon "our Spirit" and said to him,

"Thieffe, Thieffe! conjure the wind," &c.

With regard to Angus Macdonald's lawful children, besides Sir James, notice is found of Angus Oig, who was executed in July, 1615, for taking and holding of the Castle of Dunyvaig, notwithstanding his life was promised on his surrender. Angus Macdonald had also a daughter, Margaret, whose hard position in

1617 when the Privy Council gives her "special license to resort at her pleasure to her friends, to solicit their help notwithstanding her having visited her brother Sir James Macdonald in Kintyre during his rebellion" seems inaccountable. Margaret had married Archibald Macdonald, younger son of Sleat, with issue Donald who succeeded his uncle in 1616, was served heir in 1617 and was the first Baronet of Sleat; Mary who married a younger son of Clanranald; also a son Hugh, who though one of the worst Macdonalds known in their history, occupied a good position. Why it was necessary for the poor lady to "solicit the help of her friends" is, as I said, inaccountable.

Angus Macdonald had at least two natural sons, Archibald and Ronald Oig. Angus seems to have made appeals to the King in the years 1605 and 1606, without effect. These are couched in the most humble terms, and the state of the proud chief had indeed become low when he could get himself to pen them. He says he paid all the crown rents and dues of Isla and Kintyre and promises to pay them for the future, except for the parts that are waste, and he makes the significant offer to find sufficient caution *within the lowlands* that he would be obedient to the laws of Scotland, and to that effect should compear before the Council upon lawful premonition wherever they sit. Upon 10th September, 1606, he sent a final letter to the King through the Bishop of the Isles whose intervention he sought, stating among other things and beseeching "your Majesty for the cause of God to respect my age and poor estate and to let me know your Highness' own mind signed with your Majesty's own hand, and if it please your Majesty to continue me in the possession of these kindly rooms which my forbears and I have had of your Majesty, and

your Majesty's Royal progenitors, I shall not only pay the duties and maills used and wont herefor; but also shall find sufficient security for obedience to your Majesty's laws in all points, and in all time coming; or otherwise that it may seem good to your Majesty to let me know how and whereupon I shall live."

"For it shall be known, I shall seek no other refuge but only your Majesty's clemency, nor no other living, but that which your Majesty's princely liberality, it shall please your Highness bestow upon me as at more length, the bearer will inform your Majesty, and so I beseech God to bless your Highness with a long and prosperous reign, your Majesty's most humble servant, (Signed), Angus M'Connal of Dunivaig. From Iylaye, the tent of September, 1606."

About this period the following affecting supplication was sent to the Council, whereof a *fac-simile* is given. The spelling is modernized:—

"My Lords of Secret Council, please your Lordships to understand that we the tenants and under subscribers testify and approve to your Lordships that Angus M'Connell of Dunivaig and his forbears have been native superiors above us under His Majesty's hands and grace. Now therefore we crave of your Lordships' grace in respect of his native kindness of superiority over us, and specially seeing has nothing to say against him, but using us well, in all manner of form, and is willing to keep all good order that his Majesty and your Lordships will lay to his charge, therefore we beseech your Lordships for the cause of God to let us have our own native said Master your subject during his lifetime, and thereafter his eldest son and heir Sir James. This we beseech your Lordships to do for God's cause, as we are ever bound to pray for your Lordships' standing. We rest at Yllaye day of . Your Lordships' subjects to be commanded with service, (signed), Neil M'Ky, Officer of the Rinns, with my hand; Neil M'Kay, younger; Hector Mactavish in Kinibos; Archibald Makduphee in Ballijonen; Donald Makduphee in Killicolmane; Neil Neonach Makduphee in Migirnes; Archibald Makduphee of Skerolsay; Malcolme Makphersone in Mullindrie; Lauchlane Makirini, levin in Gronozort; Neill Makphetera of Kepposiche; Donald Maktavish of Ardacheriche; Hew M'Ky, of Killikeran; Donald MakGoin of Esknis."

No satisfactory reply was made. Angus' name appears occasionally thereafter at meetings of Western Highland Potentates, and heading the Lists. But restoration was not to be; and baffled and unsupported Angus Macdonald on 1st January, 1612, for the trifling sum of 6000 merks renounced in favour of Sir John Campbell of Calder all his rights to Islay, and dying shortly thereafter, is referred to in 1614, as "umquhile Angus Macdonald, called of Dunyvaig."

VIII.—Sir James Macdonald succeeded his father Angus, and was the last of the Macdonalds of Isla. Prior to his father's death, he had for years been taking the leading part in family affairs, and may be said to have been nurtured and reared among scenes of violence and blood.

The first document I have connected with him is a Bond of the Clan Neill, wherein he is described as Apparent of Dunyvaig, dated at Kileonane, 18th July, 1594, of which a *fac-simile* is now given. The following is a modernized copy:—

"At Killeonane, the 18th day of July, 1594 years, the which day Hector Macneil, Donald Dhu Macneill, Lachlan Mor Macneill, John vic Eachin vic Neill, and Jonn vic Gilliechallum Macneill has granted and also conferred, as by the tenor hereof, grants and confesses themselves and every one of them to have taken the Right Honourable James MakConil of Simereby, Apparent of Dunyvaig, their foster maintainer, defender and master above any man, Angus MakConil being excepted. And by the tenor herof, the present persons, and every one of them with all the remanent of their kin and surname of the offspring that they are come off, promises truly and faithfully to be fosters and foster fathers to the said James, and do their duty to him in all things that becometh them, and as they are bound to do. For the which doing, the said James promises truly and faithfully to maintain, fortify, warrant, assist, and defend the foresaid persons, and all their surname, defenders and kindly tenants in all their doings, and in all things as becometh a foster to do to such fosters and foster fathers. In token whereof both the said James and the

foresaid persons has subscribed these presents with their hands as follows. At Killeonane, the 18th of July, 1594, before these witnesses, Neill Buie M'Neill, Donald Makayne, Tormoyde M'Neill, Donald Madder M'Neill, and John Stewart, with other diverse. (Signed) Ja. M'Connall of Simerby, Hector M'Neill of Carskey with my hand, day, year, and place aforesaid. We Lachlan Mor M'Neill, John M'Aichan vic Neill, John M'Gillie Callum vic Neill, Donald M'Clery vic Neill, Mulmorie M'Neill, Gillie Callum M'Neill, with our hands led on the pen. I, Donald Dhu M'Neill, son to Hugh M'Neill, with my hand touching the pen. John Stewart, as witness and writer hereto."

Sir James in some documents is described of "Simerby" in Kinchousland, in others "Master of Kintyre," and followed his father's course in endeavouring to strengthen the position of the family by means of Bonds of Manrent and friendship. Kileonane was a two merk land, situated within the old Parish of Kilkerran, now incorporated with the modern Parish of Campbeltown. The Bond was granted by the Macneils of Carskey, Cadets of the ancient house of Gigha. Hector, the principal subscriber, was doubtless the same person appointed in 1618 as interim keeper of the Castle of Kilkerran in the absence of Argyle.

Between 1594 and 1596 James Macdonald received the honour of knighthood, as in the following Bond, dated 19th January, 1576, he is designed Sir James Macdonald of Knockransay, Master of Kintyre. The deed granted by Gillespie Makduffie, indweller in Isla, and John Gromach Mac vic Eachan, indweller in Colonsay, is as follows, modernized : -

"At Glasgow, the 19th day of January, the year of God, fifteen hundred, four score, and sixteen years, the which day we Gillespie Makduffie, indweller in Isla, and John Groiame Mac vic Eachene, indweller in Colonsay, grants and confesses us by the faith and truth of our bodies to have taken and accepted Sir James MakConell of Knockrynsay, Knycht, Master of Kintyre, as our only Lord and

Master, and promises faithfully never to leave the said Sir James during our lifetime, and shall maintain, assist, fortify, and defend the said Sir James, contrar all men whatsoever to the uttermost of our power, in all things and at all times hereafter. For the which doing, I, the said Sir James promises, as also grants me to have received the foresaid persons in my maintenance, protection, and defence, and shall defend and assist them in all their lawful adoes in contrar of all men whatsoever. In token whereof we have subscribed these presents with our hands as afterfollows day, year, and place foresaid, before these witnesses, Alexander Makdougall, Parson of Kildaltone, John M'Cay and John Stewart, servitors to the said Sir James, with others diverse. (Signed) Sir J. M'Connall of Knockransay, Knyt; J. Gillespie Makduphie in Ilay, with my hand touchand the pen, day and year, and place foresaid. I, John Groiame Mac vic Eacheane in Colonsay, with my hand touching the pen, day, year, and place foresaid."

Sir James married Margaret Campbell of Calder, and although there are references to a proposed divorce in the year 1621, after Sir James' return from abroad, they seem to have been a devoted couple. He frequently refers to Margaret in his letters, and she at his trial in 1607, for the affair of Askomell formerly referred to and other crimes, exerted herself vigorously to get Mr. John Russell, Advocate, to compear for her husband, going to him personally, and making protest at his declinature. Sir James had to defend himself, notwithstanding a warrant by the Lords of Secret Council allowing Counsel to appear for him; and to his eternal disgrace, and contrary to universal custom and etiquette of the bar, "The said Mr. John Russell refused to compear." Sir James was found guilty and sentenced to death. The sentence was not carried into effect, and Sir James who had been confined for upwards of two years, first in Blackness and afterwards in Edinburgh, lingered in prison until 1615. Several of Sir James' letters have been preserved, from which some extracts may be given. To the Duke of Lennox, 27th June, 1607:—



SALTPANS AND MACHRIHANISH BAY, KINTYRE.

"I am willing to accept what His Majesty will bestow on me, either in my own kindly room, or in any other part of his kingdoms, and shall find caution for my obedience, which I beseech Your Grace to report to His Majesty, and that Your Grace will get me that favour as to be banished, rather than I be in this misery."

To the Earl of Caithness from Ila, 2nd July, 1615 :—

"And I beseech your Lordship so far as you can, cross the Campbells to get any employments against me, for they care not how much they trouble the country, and put His Majesty to charges needless."

Sir James made his escape from Edinburgh Castle, being informed that Calder had got warrant to put him to death. In a letter to the Earl of Caithness, without date, he says :—

"Gif the Council be curious to know whom it was that Calder said to he had the warrant for taking my life,—the Prior of Ardhattan, and Macdougall his son Allan Macdougall, is my authors, and they will not nor cannot deny it. Also Calder's own agent, James Mowatt, made no secret thereof, for he told it both to the Earl of Crawford and Mackintosh."

In a letter to the Bishop of the Isles, 3rd June, 1615, Sir James says of the Campbells :—

"Wha crawis ever to fish in drumly waters"—(who ever crave to fish in troubled waters),—an expression characterized by Pitcairn, as a well merited though bitter sarcasm."

In another letter to the Bishop, Sir James says :—

"Therefore I beseech Your Lordship, seeing my Race has been ten hundred years kindly Scottish men, under the Kings of Scotland, and were I willing to live upon any poor part of that which our forbears had, and I to find security for all that becomes loyal subjects to do, both for myself and my whole kin that follows me, that Your Lordship will, as you ever do, intercede for me at His Majesty's hands to see what grace or favour Your Lordship may obtain for me, and in particular to see given without diminishing His Majesty's commoditie; I may have the Island to myself, and my kin to sustain us,"—and again—"if Your Lordship may get me any



ISLE DAVAAR AND CAMPBELTOWN LOCH.

favourable conditions by His Majesty, you may assure yourself I will give you the House (of Dunyvaig), providing it be in your hands, and none of the Campbells to get it."

In a letter to the Earl of Crawford, dated Dunyvaig, 3rd July, 1615, Sir James Macdonald, who then held it, says :

"I trust in God that all the Campbells in Scotland, without His Majesty's power, shall not receive it so long as they live."

The next document I have of Sir James Macdonald's is a Bond by Ronald M'Connald vic Iain of Iland, which is as follows, modernized :—

"Be it known to all men by these present letters, me Ronald M'Connald of Iland, vic ean, to have granted, confessed, and accepted as by these presents grants, confesses and accepts the Right Honourable Sir James M'Connald of Knockransay, Knight, as my superior Master and Foster, and therefore by the tenure hereof binds and obliges me to fortify against and defend the said Sir James with all and whatsoever force, strength, and might, that I can or may have, either of men or gear, in all his actions, errands or business in whatsoever places he have or shall have to do, contrar and against all deadly or mortals without any exception in all times hereafter, and for the more verification of all and sundry the premises the said Ronald has subscribed these presents with my hand as follows.—At Knockransay the 9th day of March, 1597 years, before these witnesses, Gorrie vic Allister of Lupe, Archibald M'Connald of Largie, and Archibald M'Allister of Crossage, with others diverse. I Ronald M'Connald with my hand at the pen led by the writer under written because I could not write myself. (Signed), John M'Kay, writer hereof as witness, etc."

I have not identified the granter, unless he were owner of the Isles at the mouth of Loch Kilkerran, sometimes called "Island Davaar." Knockransay is situated, according to Mr. Gregory Smith of the Edinburgh University, a little to the north of Dunyvaig. The witnesses were all men of note.

The next and last of my original documents is most interesting, referring as it does to Oronsay, that Sacred Isle adjoining

Colonsay, where by tradition Columba first set foot on Scottish soil. Oronsay, in the ancient Parish of Kilchattan or Kilduran, was a five merk land, and belonged to the Priors, instituted, it is said, by Columba, and carried on till 1555, when Robert Lamont, probably the last Catholic Prior was presented to the Priorate, vacant by the death of Donald Macduffie. The remains of the Church and Cloisters are still considerable, with fine crosses and handsome tombs, all connected with the ancient family of Macduffie, otherwise Macphee. Of this Bond a *fac-simile* is given, and with the spelling modernized is as follows:—

“Be it known to all men by these presents me Sir James M’Conill of Knockrinsay, Knight, to have taken and by these presents takes my loving servitor and native kynd man, Donald Makduphee, Pryor of Oronsay in my maintenance, warrand and life safe guard, and promises faithfully to warrand and defend, fortify and assist the said Donald in all his lawful adoes in contrar all men—the King’s Majesty being excepted. For the which doings, I, the said Donald, grants and confesses me to have taken the said Sir James my chief master, and promises to wair myself goods and gear in the maintenange of the said Sir James during my lifetime, so long as the said Sir James does his lawful duty to me. And for more of verification and shewing of my obedience to the said Sir James, I by the tenure hereof grants me to have given upon myself and my brethren and our heirs ane bairn’s part of gear to the said Sir James and his heirs for ever; and the said Sir James to do all duties that he ought to us, and ours for the same. In token whereof both I, the said Sir James, and the said Donald, has subscribed these presents with our hands as follows:—At Simerby the 3rd of July, 1597, before these witnesses—Gillespic Mac vicAllister of the Largie, John Mac Gillespic vic Cay, John Oig Mac MarcNis, and John Steward, writer, hereinto with others diverse. (Signed), Sir J. M’Connall of Knockransay, Knyt, I, Donald M’Duphie, hes subscryssit, this present contrak for own part, and in my brother’s behalf.”

Sir James MacDonald was taken prisoner as early as 1601, and after one attempt of escape, which failed in consequence of his being kept in irons, whereby he fell and was injured, finally



PRIOR OF ORONSAY'S BOND.

escaped in May, 1615. Prior to this Dunyvaig, which had been occupied by the Bishop of the Isles, had been suddenly seized by Angus Macdonald, and some of the Bishop's family held in security. Information being conveyed to Sir James that the time was favourable for his re-appearance, and he having also heard that the King had secretly given the Earl of Argyle power to carry out the old sentence, made a determined and successful attempt to escape. Accompanied by Keppoch and others he moved rapidly through Perthshire and the Islands, and arrived in Isla, where we find him at Dunyvaig, given up by the Campbells. At first many flocked to his standard but gradually melted away, and it is clear by his letters from Dunyvaig that he wished to be restored to his estates peacefully. Later on he had to flee to Ireland and thence to Spain. Meantime, his followers were mercilessly pursued and hunted down, his brother Angus, who took Dunyvaig, and surrendered on promise that his life would be safe, being tried and executed. A reward of £5000 had been offered for the apprehension of Sir James; of £3000 for Keppoch and Coll Gillespie; and of three thousand merks for others, by the Privy Council. Mr. Cosmo Innes says of Sir James, "though his early exploits show him reckless of blood, in later life he was not cruel, and sometimes spared his enemies when in his power. His letters, many of which are preserved and have been printed, show a touch of feeling and self respect, and of what was due to his ancient race; with a straightness and manliness of expression that contrast favourably with some of the lawyer's letters among which they are found."

Sir James had a warm friend in Sir Lachlan Mackintosh, long his fellow prisoner in the Castle of Edinburgh. Now what was

Calder's position? He had attained what for years he had plotted for, shed blood, sold his plate, and dilapidated his great grandmother's ancient Estate of the Thanedom of Calder, all to carry out his objects, and the end was not worth the candle. By 1619 he could not pay the Crown Duties, was put to the horn, and friends and relatives assembled in council to extricate matters, if they could. In 1623 Calder had resolved to sell the illgotten grand Estate of Isla; but the family managed to pull through until about the year 1726—the island never having paid its way, and been retained with difficulty. Notwithstanding the Welsh marriage, rumours of the Sale not only of Isla, but even of Calder, reached the North, causing great consternation among northern friends, and particularly its representative, Sir Archibald Campbell of Clunes. He implored his nephew that if a Sale was necessary it ought to be of Isla, and that the first offer of Isla and Muckairn ought to be made to the Duke of Argyle, and that it was worth £20,000 stg. Sir Archibald was mistaken as to the rumoured Sale of Calder, and writing to his nephew on 17th June, 1726, he says:—

I own my mistaking your affairs for which begs pardon, and desires to be gratefully thankful for your valuable resolution of leaving this your North Country Estate free to your posterity, which I wish as heartily as I can do anything in time, and hope if your dear bought lands in Argyleshire be gone, that better may come in their place, and be annexed to the ancient honourable Hawthorn Tree, as formerly."

In 1631 John Fiar of Calder asked the Privy Council to sanction the destruction of Dunyvaig which was granted, and tho' it has since been a ruin, it stands out an imposing warning to its umquhile Campbell possessors for the mean and shabby opinion and spirit displayed when craving power for its being destroyed. It need create no surprise to find this Calder cognosced as a lunatic in 1639.

It would rather appear that Sir James' appeal to the King, formerly referred to, had never been forwarded, for we find that after several years' absence he was recalled by King James from Spain, received into favour, and a handsome pension given him. He was not allowed to return to Scotland, and his history from 1616 to 1626, when he died, is as yet in obscurity. Doubtless some notices are to be found in English Records. He left no male issue, and the representation was claimed by the Earl of Antrim, who desired to acquire both Isla and Kintyre.

THE MACIAINS OF ARDNAMURCHAN.

We purpose making some reference to the MacIains of Ardnamurchan; to the descendants of Coll, second brother of James Macdonald; and to the Antrim family.

I.—The MacIains of Ardnamurchan are descended from John, younger son of Angus Mor of Isla. Notwithstanding John MacIain's betrayal of Sir John Cathanach, the subsequent intermarriage appears to have firmly bound the two families. The following pedigree is merely tentative, as I have no particulars to verify a complete table. 1.—John, younger son of Angus Mor of Isla; 2.—his son Angus, 1342; 3.———; 4.———; 5.—Alexander, 1448-78; 6.—his son John, 1494, 1505-6, 1519; 7.—Alexander, 1530, 1545; 8.—John, 1588; 9.—John Oig, 1596; 10.—John vic Allister, 1602-11; 11.—Allister, 1622-29.

The above names are found, but the descent was not always by father and son.

In the year 1612 Donald Campbell, styled of Barbreck, bastard son of Sir John Campbell of Calder, who had married the widow

of Angus Mackintosh, apparent of Mackintosh, to the intense annoyance of that family, who at great costs, had ultimately succeeded in expelling him from their territories and the north, comes prominently into the Ardnamurchan history. He had been destined for the Church, becoming Dean of Lismore, and had he continued, would have heartily consorted as a sworn brother with that cleric zealot, who, in the midst of executions, slaughters, fines, imprisonments, and forfeitures, exclaimed, "the wark gangs bonniely on." In the above year Donald Campbell gets a commission to receive the Castle of Mingarry and put keepers there. He was also made Tenant of the Lands. In 1616 he made himself so hateful and obnoxious that a friend warns him to refrain from pressure, and to cultivate peace. In 1622 he makes a false charge against Allister MacIain that he was congregating his men with a view to rebellion. Before 1629 he becomes Proprietor of Ardnamurchan and created a Baronet. His oppressions were now greater than ever, so that the poor MacIains, driven from the land, became Sea Rovers, and were called Pirates, and never afterwards secured a footing in their old Duchus. In 1645 he was taken prisoner at Inverlochry, and how not despatched, seeing how many ruined and dispossessed by him were in the victorious army, says much for the Highlanders. He must have been then an old man, but his bloodthirsty instincts were unquenchable. In 1647 old Coll Ciotach was inveigled by General Leslie into surrender, and with his two sons, Archibald and Angus, executed by George Campbell of Airds, Captain of Dunstaffnage, nephew of Sir Donald. The accomplished editor of the History of the Macdonells of Antrim says of Sir Donald and his nephew: —

"Both uncle and nephew were infamous for the cruelty and rapacity with which they rooted out and destroyed the old family and clan of the Macdonalds, known as the MacIains of Ardnamurchan."

And in another place, of Sir Donald :—

"This cruel, crafty, and prosperous old knight was originally a preacher."

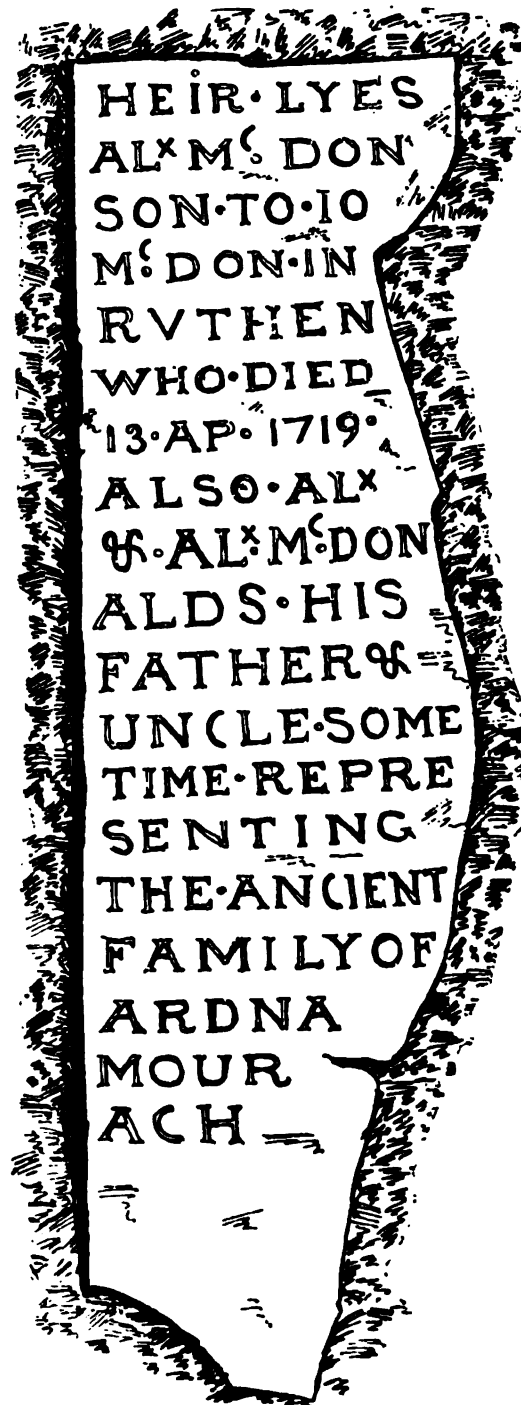
Sir James Turner refers to him thus :—

"Here I cannot forget one, Sir Donald Campbell, a very old man, fleshed in blood from his very infancy, who with all imaginable violence, pressed that all the whole Clan of Maclean should be put to the edge of the sword; nor would he be commanded to forbear his bloody suit by the Lieut.-General, and the General Majors; and with some difficulty was he commanded silence by his chief, the Marquis of Argyle."

Sir Donald appears to have died in November, 1651, and his corpse had "a waking" according to the Book of the Thaness of Cawdor, at which, perhaps essential, an unusual quantity of tobacco was used. I find in his whole known career, one kindly opinion and request which in fairness is now given. Writing to his relative, Colin Campbell of Ardersier on 2nd March, 1637, Sir Donald says with reference to William Mackintosh, whose grandmother he had married—Mackintosh at the time having attained majority not long previous, and engaged in extricating his affairs, seriously involved by his guardian the Laird of Grant—says :—

"I beseech you to be careful of Mackintosh and commend me to him, for I would be glad to hear a course laid for his standing, and likewise would be glad to know of it."

It was at Mingarry that Alexander Macdonald and his men landed from Ireland to assist Montrose, and as a strong garrison was kept there up to Montrose's overthrow, it may be taken for granted that such of the MacIains as remained, rallied to their kinsman's standard. Through Lochaber, Badenoch, and Athole



TOMBSTONE OF THE LAST MACIAINS OF ARDNAMURCHAN,
IN ST. COLUMBA CHURCHYARD, KINGUSSIE.



THE MACIAIN TOMBSTONE IN IONA

constant communication was kept up, and it would seem that two of the MacIains remained in Ruthven in poverty and obscurity. Through the exertions of Mr. Alexander Macpherson, Banker in Kingussie, the old churchyard of that parish was, some years ago, restored and beautified. A grave stone with inscription was brought to light, of the rudest material, lettering, and language, as may be seen by the *fac-simile* given, prepared for these papers by the kindness of Mr. Mackenzie, Surveyor's Office, Kingussie, and Mr. John Campbell, Inspector of Poor, there.

Anyone who examines the magnificent tomb in Iona erected by Malcolm Macduphie of Colonsay to his brother-in-law John MacIain, Lord of Ardnamurchan, and Mariota MacIain, sister of John and wife of Malcolm, can see at a glance how great was the downfall of the family. Yet low as he seems to have been, all honour to Alexander Macdonald, who cherishing the high aspirations of the family, did his best by erecting this memorial, however rude, to preserve the names and place of interment of the last of the ancient house of Ardnamurchan.

The wording is doubtful, but it would rather appear as if the two Alexanders conjoined were father and uncle of John Macdonald, one of them being his maternal uncle. It is probable that one of the Alexanders was the Allister MacIain referred to 1622-1629.

COLL KEITACH AND HIS FAMILY.

James Macdonald of Isla's second brother was named Coll, who with his younger brother Sorley Buie settled in Ireland. He was known as Coll na-g-Capul, and lived in the strong castle of Kean-baan. He married Eveleen Macquillin, took an active part in the struggles of the times, and died in May, 1558, leaving two sons,



KINGUSSIE, INVERNESSHIRE.

Archibald and Randal or Ranald. This Randal settled in Colonsay. Archibald, the eldest son of Coll married the daughter of O'Cahan, and was father of Coll, the well-known "Coll Keitach." Upon the death of his uncle Randal, Coll, who had been in use to visit his uncle, settled in Colonsay, which became his designation. In 1631 Coll had a lease of the island from the Bishop of the Isles. He was twice married, first to a cousin, Miss O'Cahan, and second to Miss Macneill. He had three sons, Archibald, Alexander, and Angus. The family were strict Catholics, and as the Covenanting party became all powerful about 1639, such as did not conform were in imminent danger. Households, including that of Coll Keitach, were broken up, never to be reunited. Coll, with his eldest and youngest sons, expelled from Colonsay, were cast into prison, and remained therein till 1644, when the state of affairs made it prudent they should be released; the second son, Alexander, fled to Ireland, where he greatly distinguished himself. Coll and his sons were most active in support of Montrose, taking part in almost every battle, and after the conclusion of the war, held out Dunyvaig. Upon promise of their lives, Coll and two of his sons surrendered to General Leslie, afterwards Earl of Leven, and even Covenanting writers were forced to admit that a stain rested on his honour, in allowing their execution. This was carried out with devilish satisfaction upon Coll in the bay of Dunstaffnage, on a mast from Coll's own galley. Archibald was executed at Skipness, and Angus at Dunyvaig. They could have been exchanged for two or three cenventiclers who had been captured, but who were allowed to die in prison, as appeared at Argyle's trial in 1660, rather than Coll and his sons should be set at liberty. Thus perished the gallant old hero, but his

name, and that of his famous son Sir Alexander, remain and will remain, honoured and lamented. Coll was born in Ireland about 1570, and was executed in 1647.*

"A Cholla mo rùn, a Cholla mo rùn,
Seachainn an tùr, thoir ort an dùn,
Tha mise an làimh.
A Cholla mo ghaoil, a Cholla mo ghaoil,
Seachainn an caol, thoir ort am fraoch,
Tha mise an làimh."

Sir Alexander fled to Ireland, as above stated, in 1639; was constantly engaged in the conflicts then raging, and is unjustly accused by Froude and others of crimes and cruelties. He was defeated at Glenmaquin in 1642, and does not come to the front again till 1644. He was a man of herculean frame and high courage, always exposing himself to danger. He was generally styled Coll Keitach's son, vulgarly converted into "Alexander Colkitto," a mixture of his father's christian name and nickname. The worthy Spalding calls him "MacColl MacKittish;" some English writers "Colonel Kitto;" and the Antrim historian, with good reason, ridicules Burton, whom he calls "one of the latest and most pretentious of Scottish historians," for styling him "Macdonald of Colkitto." In 1644 a determined effort was made to support the King from Ireland. The Earl of Antrim got full power from the Irish Confederates, exerted himself to the uttermost, and under promise of Scottish support, raised and equipped over 2000 men, whom he placed under the command of Alexander Macdonald. He sailed in the "Harp," the first body consisting of about 1600 men, and they landed at Mingarry on 8th July, 1644. There were none to welcome them, and it is possible a

* See note in appendix.

retreat would have been ordered, were it not that their transports had been surprised and burnt. Here the genius of Macdonald displayed itself. He determined to establish a safe basis of operations, took and garrisoned the castles of Mingarry and Lochaline, and felt secure enough to act on the aggressive. The story of Montrose's wars is so well known, that it would be out of place here to say more than that Alexander, now Sir Alexander, and his men were ever to the front, in every battle, and became such a terror that straggling bodies of them were constantly cut off, and quarter was never given. Indeed it may be said that hardly a man returned to Ireland. Although all the Highland historians give the fullest credit to Montrose, they are also very clear as to the prowess and paramount work of Macdonald. Yet too many Lowland and English writers give him but an inferior position. It is well to see that the Clanranald historian, whose work has just been published *in extenso*, is very distinct on the point, coming as it did under his own observation, or of those with whom he was in communication. At no time did Sir Alexander and his men show greater courage than at Inverlochy. What said Iain Lom.—

"I, the bard of their battles, ascended the height,
Where dark Inverlochic o'ershadowed the fight,
And I saw the Clan Donald resistless in might,
* * * * *
Fallen race of Diarmid ! disloyal, untrue
No harp in the Highlands will sorrow for you."

Sir Alexander Macdonald fled to Ireland, was entrusted by the Confederates with high command, and was killed in the Battle of Cnocnanos, County of Cork, in the year 1647. He had married one of the daughters of Macallister of Loup, which family suffered

severely through the connection. He left several children, and descendants are to be found in good positions to this day.

MACDONELLS OF ANTRIM.

A brief account of the descendants of Sorley Buie may now be given. He had by Mary, daughter of Con, first Earl of Tyrone, several sons, the eldest, Donald was killed in 1585; the second, Alexander was subsequently taken prisoner, executed and his head placed over one of the gates in Dublin. The father having occasion to go to that city, an English officer cruelly brought him to this gate and pointed to the head, whereupon, alluding to the power and influence of his family, Sorley said with dignity "my son hath many heads." Simon Fraser, counted 8th Lord Lovat, ran away from College at Aberdeen, and finding his way to Ireland was received and treated as his son by Sorley Buie. A deed, badly quoted, said to be dated at Glaimorne, 3rd October, 1587, with Sorley M'Konnel, Lord of the Route, and Mak Angus Mac Konnel of the Glenns, as witness, was no doubt signed by Lord Lovat at Glenarme, and Sorley's name and designation probably enlarged into that of two persons. The third son was James, the fourth Randal, fifth Angus, and sixth Lothar. Mary O'Neill died 1582, and Sorley died in 1590, succeeded by his third son James, afterward Sir James Macdonnell, who married Mary O'Neill, daughter of Phelim of Claunaboye. This Sir James came to Scotland and made some claims to the Isla Estates in 1597. He was well received by James VI., by whom he was knighted, and received a grant of twenty-two merks of land in the south-west of Kintyre, of which the principal messuage was Cullelungart. These lands had formed part of the Islay

possessions. In an old chronicle it is said of Sir James, he was "ane bra man of person and behaviour, but had not the Scots tongue, nor nae language but Erse." It is reported of Rory Mor Macleod of Macleod that when he either paid a visit, or was summoned to appear in London before King James, he, like Sir James Macdonnell had no English, and the conversation between them was carried on in Latin. It turned out satisfactory; perhaps Rory complimented the Royal pedant in his mastery of the language, but be that as it may, Rory departed from the Royal audience as Sir Rory. Sir James died Easter Monday, 1601, not without suspicion of being poisoned, and according to the *Four Masters* "the most distinguished of the Clan Donnell, either in peace or war." Although Sir James had several sons, his brother Randal was immediately recognised as chief. Having been fostered and brought up in Arran he was known in Ireland as "Arran-ach" and being more of a politician than a soldier, became a warm supporter of the English interest after Elizabeth's death. King James conferred the honour of knighthood; and re-granted, and on 26th May, 1603, confirmed him in upwards of 300,000 acres of land in Antrim. He married, about 1604, Alice O'Neill, daughter of Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, and niece of the Earl of Tyrconnell, and surrounded by enemies, he had great difficulty in maintaining his position. He was confirmed in the Kintyre lands of his late brother, and had a tack of seven years of Isla, receiving no benefit. Always favoured by King James, he on 29th June, 1618, was created Viscount Dunluce, and on 12th December, 1620, Earl of Antrim. The Kintyre Estates of the Macdonalds fell into the hands of James Campbell, son, by his second marriage, of the "Apostate" Earl of Argyle, created Lord Cantire in 1622. Like

his relative Calder, in the case of Isla, Lord Cantire soon found that their acquisitions were unprofitable, and desired to get rid of them. Lord Cantire first offered the lands to his senior half-brother, Lord Lorn, who declined to purchase. The Earl of Antrim then came forward, agreed with Lord Cantire and paid down £1500 sterling of the price. Upon this coming to the ears of Lord Lorn, he was furious, took forcible measures to stop the Earl being infeft in the lands, and used every exertion and remonstrance within his power, with the ruling powers in Scotland, to prevent the Earl of Antrim from getting possession. The Earl however was infeft on 16th January, 1635; and in answer to Lord Lorn's, threats stated that he was one of the remainder men under Queen Mary's Charter to James Macdonald of Isla, was the successor of his brother Sir James who had possession of part of Kintyre, and he had bought them when for open sale by Lord Cantire. In reply to a specific charge by Lord Lorn, that if he got possession he would be representing, nourishing and maintaining the ancient papists, and troublesome Macdonald Islanders, who had been happily suppressed, Lord Antrim stated that he and his predecessors had welcomed and given shelter to Scottish people on his Irish Estates, not enquiring as to their religion; and as regarded Kintyre and the Macdonalds, that there had been such wholesale evictions and clearances, since the Campbells acquired possession, that only two or three Macdonalds, in very humble circumstances, remained. But all was of no avail, Lord Lorn now Earl and afterwards Marquis of Argyle, worthy son of him regarding whom it was said

"Now Earl of Guile, and Lord For Lorn thou goes
Leaving thy Native Prince to serve his foes ;
No faith in plaids, no truth in tartan trews,
Chameleon like, they change a thousand hues."

was up till 1660 all powerful, and the dismemberer of the great County of Inverness, easily defeated Lord Antrim. By the time of the Restoration it was too late to recover Kintyre. The first Earl of Antrim died at Dunluce, 10th September, 1636, leaving



DUNLUCE CASTLE, ANTRIM.

two sons and six daughters, and by the kindness of the present Earl of Antrim, I am enabled to give the portrait of the second Earl and first Marquis of Antrim, preserved at Glenarm Castle. This great man, born in 1609, was in use to relate himself, that he wore neither hat, cap, shoe, nor stocking till seven or eight years old, being bred "in the old Highland way."

The second Earl and Marquis of Antrim exerted himself greatly for King Charles, raised large bodies of men for the Royal



RANDALL, 2ND EARL AND 1ST MARQUIS OF ANTRIM

service, and deeply involved his Estate. Full accounts are to be found in the History of the Family. The Marquis married first the great heiress, Catherine Manners, widow of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, who died in 1649; and second, Rose O'Neill of Shanes Castle, about the year 1653; she died in 1695. The present Earl has permitted to be engraved a *fat-simile* of the famous agreement between Antrim and Montrose, written I think by Montrose, also its docquet on the back, in the hand writing of Antrim.

During the usurpation the Marquis was deprived of all his estates, not having a foot left, but receiving a small pension. We often hear of Cromwell's doings in Ireland, of his plantations, forced settlements, and of the displacements of the Irish people for "adventurers," as they were styled. When asked on one occasion, what was to be done with certain people, Cromwell replied send them "to Hell or Connaught;" and to Connaught, west of the Shannon, and misery, thousands upon thousands were sent, and Lord Antrim was there assigned a wretched portion. Some years ago, the late Major O'Gorman, commonly called "The O'Gorman," member for Waterford, a man of enormous size, of typical Irish character, was called to order in the House of Commons, amid considerable excitement, for using the above words, in his usual stentorian voice, apropos of some hot Irish question. I was present at the time, and well acquainted with the Major, who used to sit near me. Mr. Butt, then leader of the Irishmen, having privately drawn Speaker Brand's attention that the words were historical, the Speaker told Mr. Butt to convey to the Major, that had he known the circumstances, he would not have called him to order,

Upon the Restoration, the Marquis had to fight for years for the restitution of his estates out of the hands of the "granters," many of them of position, who had got them for little or nothing. Notwithstanding the unfriendliness, if not hostility of the Duke of Ormonde, the King's representative, the Marquis ultimately triumphed, and after 24 years' perils, trials, and poverty, lived afterwards in peace and happiness. His portrait shows a mixture of firmness and benevolence. The Marquis died, 3rd February, 1682, and leaving no issue, the Marquisate fell. He was succeeded by his brother, Alexander, 3rd Earl of Antrim, born in 1615, whose portrait, by the courtesy of the present Earl, is given. He died in the year 1696. Like his brother, he had been in constant trouble during the Civil Wars, and had the estate left him by his father forfeited, but restored subsequently. He supported James the 7th, and was colonel of a regiment in 1689. He was again forfeited, but the Irish estates restored under the Treaty of Limerick. He was still attainted in England, and up to his death vigorously engaged in obtaining a reversal. By his second wife, Helena Bourke, the third Earl left a son Randal, who succeeded, and was in time succeeded by Alexander his son, and he by his son Randal, sixth Earl. Having no son, he petitioned the King, and a new grant was made to his three daughters and their issue male. He was also created Marquis, which title on his death fell for the second time. At his death in 1791 the title devolved upon his eldest daughter, Anne Katherine, but she, though married, having no son, the title devolved at her death in 1834 upon her youngest sister Charlotte (the second sister Letitia having died unmarried), who only enjoyed the title for one year, and was grandmother of the present Earl. The present Earl's aunt, Lady Helen, widow



ALEXANDER, 3RD EARL OF ANTRIM.

of Sir Malcolm MacGregor of MacGregor, has long closely and warmly identified herself with Scotland and Highland interests. Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, in the "History of the Macdonalds," claims the representation of the Lord of the Isles for Glengarry. If the rumour alluded to in the letter dated Edinburgh, 14th May, 1796, to a clansman, had foundation, and the wooing were successful, the possible results open up a wide subject of speculation—"Glengarry has gone to Ireland. Some will have it that he went on a courting expedition to his noble kinswoman and namesake." The field was certainly open, for the Countess Anne Katherine did not marry till 1799.

To Lord Antrim, for his courtesy and interesting contributions my own thanks, and those of all Macdonalds are cordially given, and we wish his family prosperity and a new grant of the Marquisate. They are still regarded as brother Highlanders, and sixty years ago a Gaelic poet thus wrote : —

" Co 'thàirneadh riut riobadh
'N uair thig na bheil uait ?
Iarl Antruim á h-Eirinn
Leis an éireadh na sluaigh."

In number the Macdonalds predominate in Scotland, and are to be found in good positions all over the world. Why not follow the example of their brethern in Ireland, who have retained their hold amidst extraordinary difficulties, and regain Isla and Kintyre?

APPENDIX.

THE GAELIC CHARTER OF 1408.

*(From the National MSS. of Scotland, with Introduction by the late
Mr. Cosmo Innes, Advocate.*

The Charter of Macdonald of the Isles, the only charter of Scottish lands in Celtic tongue, was discovered by the Rev. Dr. Reeves, to whom Scotland owes so much of the elucidation of her early history, in the possession of John Magee, who asserts his descent from a family of Magees in the North of Ireland, followers originally of the Scottish Macdonalds who settled in Antrim.

Dr. Reeves published a reading of it, with a translation, in the proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, in January, 1852.

Even at that time the Charter of goat skin, for such it seems to be, was very hard to read, but it is now in greatly worse condition, from being continually handled, carried in the owner's pocket, and of late kept apparently in a damp place.

No pains have been spared, however, to supply an accurate transcript and translation of this curious document, which is very little more readable than in our *fac-simile*.

[TRANSCRIPT.]

AN AINIM DE, AMEN.

"ATAINSE MAC DOMHNAILL ag bronnagh agus tabhairt en mhairg deg go leith dfhearann uaim pfhein agas om oighribh do Bhrian Bhicaire Mhagaodh

agus do oighribh na dhiaigh go siorthuighe suthain ar son a sheirbhise
damh pfein agus dom athair romham agus so air chunnrag agus air chonghioll go
tteobhraidh se fein agus idsan dhamsa agus dom oighribh am dhiagh gu bliadh-
namhail ceithre ba ionmharbhtha chum mo thighe agus a cas nach biadh na bath
soin a faghail bhearadh an Brian huas agus oighriogh dhomhsa agus dom oighribh
am dhiaigh da mharg agus da fhichit marg ar son na mbo cceadna huas. Agas ar na
habharuibh cceudna ataimse dom cheanghal fein fein agus ag ceangal moighriogh um
diaigh gu deiriogh an bheatha na fearainn soin moille re na dthoruibh mara agus tire
do sheasamh agus do chonghbhail don mbhriain bhiocaire Mhagaodh huas agus do
oighribh go siorthuighe na dhiaigh mar an ceudna. Agus as iad go na fearainn
thugas dho fein agus da oighribh go brach iadhon Baile bhiocaire, Machaire Learga
riabhoige, Ciontragha, Graftol, Tocamol, Wgasgog, Da ghleann astol, Cracobus,
Cornabus, agus Baile Neaghtoin. Agus ionnas go mbiaidh brigh neart, agus
laidireacht ag an mbrontanas so bheirim uaim, ceanglam aris me fein agus moigh-
riogh go siorthuighe fo ccunrag so do sheasaibh agus chonghbhail don mbrian
reimhraite, agus do oighribh na dhiaigh go deiriogh an beatha, le cuir mo laime
agus mo sheala sios an so a lathair na bfhioghain so so sios agus an seiseamh la do
mis na bealtuine agus an bhliadhan so do bhreith Chriosta Mile, ceithre ced, agus a
hocht.

McDOMHNAILL.

EOIN MAC DOMHAILL.

PAT : MC A BRIUIN.

FERCOS MAC BETHA.

AODH MC CEL.

[TRANSLATION.]

IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN.

I, MACDONALD, am granting and giving eleven mark and a half of land from
myself and from my heirs, to Brian Vicar MacKay and to his heirs, after him for ever
and ever, for his services to myself and to my father before me ; and
this on covenant and on condition that he, himself, and they, shall give to me and
my heirs after me, yearly, four cows fit for killing for my house. And in case these
cows shall not be found, the above Brian and his heirs shall give to me and my heirs
after me, two marks and forty for the same above cows. And for the same cause I



THE GAELIC CHARTER OF 1408.

am binding myself and binding my heirs after me, to the end of the world, these lands, together with their fruit of sea and land to defend and maintain to the above Brian Vicar MacKay, and to his heirs for ever after him in like manner. And these are the lands I have given to him and his heirs for ever, namely,—Bailie-Vicar, Machaire, Leargariabhoighe, Ciontragh, Graftol, Tocamol, Ugascoc, the two Glennastol, Cracobus, Cornabus, and Baile-Neaghtoin. And in order that there may be meaning, force, and effect, in this grant I give from me, I again bind myself and my heirs for ever under covenant, this to uphold and fulfil to the aforesaid Brian and his heirs after him to the end of the world, by putting my hand and my seal down here, in presence of these witnesses here below, and the sixth day of the month of the Beltane, and this year of the birth of Christ, one thousand, four hundred, and eight.

McDONALD.

JOHN MAC DONALD.

PAT : MAC A BRIAN.

FERGUS MAC BETH.

HUGH Mc Cei.

Along with the Charter I received an ancient transcript which, though itself defective, has enabled me to supply all the illegible parts of the original, except a single word (the one following “services”).

Ignorant myself of the language of the Charter, I have used such help as I could obtain.

I should be much to blame if I failed to record my obligation to Mr. John O’Farrell of the Ordnance Service at Southampton, to whom I own an elaborate, judicious and careful study of this Charter, and I am no less indebted to the late Rev. Dr. Thomas Maclauchlan of Edinburgh, well-known as an accomplished Gaelic scholar; and to the late Mr. Hector Maclean, Schoolmaster, at Kilmeny, Islay.

The granter of the Charter signs himself "Mc Domhnaill," a signature which all Celtic Scholars, whether Scotch or Irish, recognize as that of the head of the great sept of the Macdonalds of the Isles, Lords of the Isles, and Kings of the Isles as they were sometimes called, who alone was entitled of right and custom so to sign. At this date, 1408, the Lord of the Isles was Donald, son of John MacDonald and grandson of Robert, 2nd King of Scotland. Recognized as the heir of the old Princes of the Isles he was himself the Lord of great territories, some of which he held in feudal manner from the Crown. Islay, in which the lands lie that he now grants, was part of the ancient possessions of his family. The events of the life of Donald of the Isles are well known in the history of England, as well as of Scotland. For some years before the date of this deed he had been treated as an independent Prince by Edward IV. of England. In a different interest, he opposed the Albanys then ruling in Scotland, and at the head of the men of the Highlands and Isles fought the battle of Harlaw, 24th July, 1411, when the fortunes of Celt and Saxon for a time seemed to hang in the balance.

The Charter by a Scotsman, of lands confessedly in Scotland, written apparently by a Scotsman, and intended to be read, if by any, by the men of Islay, was no doubt written in a dialect spoken in Scotland. It may be that the Celtic language of Ireland and Scotland was at that time identical, but my Gaelic counsellors point to some peculiarities of words and construction which indicate the first branching off of the Scotch Gaelic, from that of Ireland; and the late Schoolmaster of Kilmeny in Islay, informed me that his neighbours who knew no language but Gaelic, and were unable to read the Irish Bible as now printed, had no difficulty in

understanding the language of this Charter, which, he added, was strongly marked with idioms peculiar to Islay of the present day.

The Eleven and a half Merk lands here granted to Brian Vicar Magaoidh, whom we in Scotland call Mackay, *filius Hugonis*—lie nearly all adjoining and would, I am informed, form a compact little estate at this day. The money designation of land—*mercato terra*—known all over that Western land which felt the power of the Norse settlers, is here joined with a Reddendo of Cattle, as if for the express instruction of the student of Scotch Legal Antiquities. The witnesses are not without interest. John Macdonald was very likely the nephew of the granter, the son namely of his brother John (who had died long before this time), the progenitor of great and noble families in Ireland and Scotland. The next witness is Patrick Mc a Bhriuin, a name which reads so like Macbrehon, the Judge's son, but has now assumed in Islay, the more common-place form of Brown. Fergus Mac Beth is believed to be one of the Family of MacBeth or Bethune, from time immemorial hereditary Leeches, as well as Sennachies or Chroniclers, of the family of the Isles. They were the men of letters of the Isles and combined the offices, which required high accomplishments. This very Charter was probably written by Fergus, for it will be observed that the writing resembles that of his signature, and that he subscribes his name without further designation, while the other witnesses subscribe by a mark, each, however, having a different sign. Hugh Mackay, whose mark has some resemblance to the figure of an ancient plough, though his name is differently written from that of the granter, nearly indeed as now pronounced, was probably a kinsman of his. While, as I have said, this is our only extant Gaelic Charter, there are traditions of grants resem-

bling this in the same county, and what is remarkable, made to people of the same clan and name, but preserved orally and without writing.

There exists in Argyle a floating tradition of an ancient charter granted by Macdonald, Lord of the Isles, to Mackay of Kilmahumaig, which was first printed in the old Statistical Account of Scotland.

The received popular version of the grant runs—

Tha mise, Dòmhnall nan Dòmhnall,
A' m shuidhe air Dundòmhnall,
A' tabhairt do Mhac Aoidh
Còir air Cillmathumaig,
O 'n diugh gus am màireach,
'Us o sin gu sìorruidh

(I, Donald of Donald, sitting on Dundonald, do give to Mackay a right to Kilmahumaig from to-day till to-morrow, and from that for ever.)

The Macmillans of Knapdale have a similarly traditional charter which gives them their lands so long as the wave beats on the rocks—their title ran as follows—

Còir Mhic Mhaoilein air a' Chnap,
Fhad 's a bhuaileas tonn ri creag.

(Macmillan's right to Knapdale, so long as the wave beats on the rock.)

Such unwritten charters are familiar to the popular Antiquary in Anglo-Saxon England and in Southern Scotland.

"I, Kyng Athlestan,
Giffys here to Paulan,
Oddam and Roddam,
Als gude and als fair
As evir thair myn war,
And thairto witness Mald, my wyf."

We know so little of legal transactions of writings in Gaelic, that I cannot say whether this charter is to be held exhibiting the form of such writs in use among the Celts in Scotland, and I have not found much assistance for illustrating this point in the specimens which have been brought together of the conveyances of the kindred people in Ireland, and only in one particular does it resemble the common type of Irish deeds. When Macdonald authenticates his deed by putting his "name and seal down here," he is using the same form and the actual words that are found in several ancient Irish writs still extant, where they mean that the subscription was holograph of the granter, and that the seal was affixed by his hand.

But in truth this grant to Mackay further resembles an ordinary Scottish feudal charter, stripped of the technicalities of sassine and feudal investiture.

The granter's name, in the beginning, is in the Scotch form, but the reddendo, or rent, and the manner of witnessing by marks are more akin to the Irish. That is, however, only to say that it is suited to the country and the people who inhabited it.

The date of this deed, the 6th day of the month of Beltane, points no doubt to the worship of Beltane, the Celtic god of fire; but the Pagan rites had been forgotten at the time of this charter as completely as they are now, when the Beltane month simply and innocently represents the month of May all over Celtic Scotland.



COLL KEITACH.

The common tradition is, that poor Coll was hanged from the mast of his own galley in the bay of Dunstaffnage.

Through the kindness of Mr. Duncan MacIsaac, of Oban, some particulars of interest have been received.

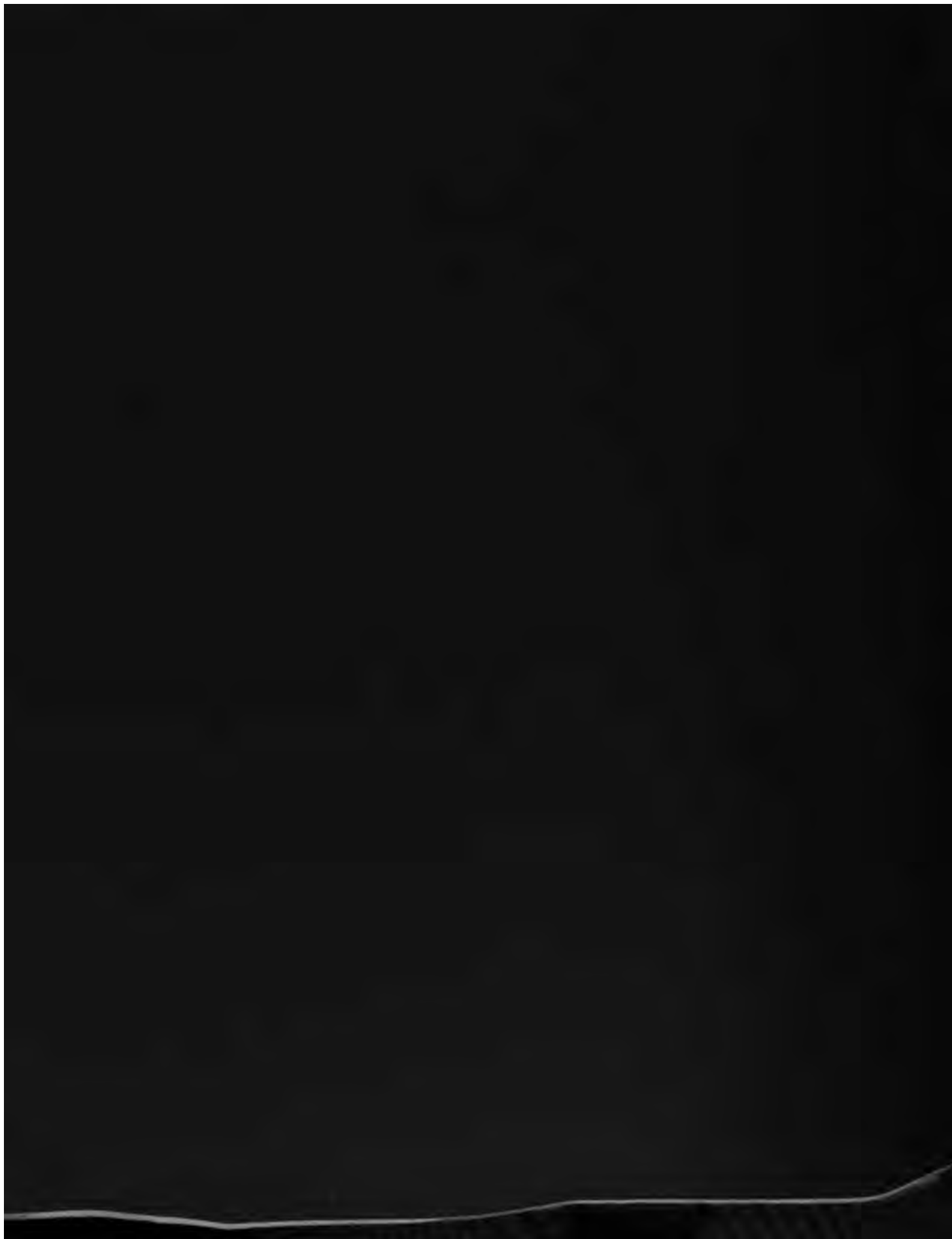
The tradition in the locality is that the execution took place on an eminence, called Tom-a-chrochaidh, near to the farm house of Saulmore. Mr. MacIsaac, in order to reconcile the two accounts, thinks that the mast may have been taken out of the galley and fixed on the hill.

While Coll was a prisoner at Dunstaffnage, he so behaved himself that Dunstaffnage and he became very friendly, and Coll was allowed liberty to go out on parole. This having been reported to Argyle, Dunstaffnage was summoned to Inveraray for breach of trust, in allowing Coll to roam about unfettered. Dunstaffnage's denial did not satisfy Argyle, or those who sat in Court, and a mounted messenger was sent off to Dunstaffnage to ascertain the real state of matters. Mackillop, a henchman who had accompanied Dunstaffnage to Inveraray, no sooner heard the instructions given to the messenger, than slipping quietly from the Court, by short cuts over the hills, and running all the way, he arrived at Dunstaffnage before the special messenger. When approaching Dunstaffnage Mackillop was quite exhausted, but seeing Coll in a field with other harvest reapers, and within hailing distance, he shouted out as loudly as he could, "Colla fo iarunn, Coll fo gheimhlean, 's Dunstaffinis 'na éigin"—"Coll in irons, Coll in manacles as Dunstaffnage is in distress?" Coll

instantly, on hearing the warning, went back to the Castle, and had his fetters replaced before the arrival of the special messenger, upon whose report of finding Coll in fetters, Dunstaffnage was set free.

Coll is buried within the old ruined Chapel of Dunstaffnage.

FINIS.





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